JPRS 77778

8 April 1981

USSR Report

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

No. 1120

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service (NTIS), Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semimonthly by the NTIS, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Indexes to this report (by keyword, author, personal names, title and series) are available through Bell & Howell, Old Mansfield Road, Wooster, Ohio, 44691.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

Soviet books and journal articles displaying a copyright notice are reproduced and sold by NTIS with permission of the copyright agency of the Soviet Union. Permission for further reproduction must be obtained from copyright owner.

JPRS 77778

8 April 1981

USSR REPORT

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

No. 1120

CONTENTS

INTERNATIONAL

Gromyko on Shared Interests of USSR, African Countries
(Anatoliy Gromyko; AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA, Jan 81)..... 1

Ibragimov on Solidarity With Third World Countries
(Mirza Ibragimov; AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA, Feb 81)..... 10

U.S. Aims in Fomenting Iran-Iraq Conflict Examined
(N. Vasin; POLITICHESKOYE SAMOOBRAZOVANIYE, Jan 81)..... 17

Policies of Italian CP Examined, Critiqued
(G.P. Smirnov; VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS, No 1, 1981)..... 20

Development, Role of Islam in Southeast Asia Studied
(A. Ionova; AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA, Feb 81)..... 26

REGIONAL

'SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA' Deplores Delays in Developing Non-Chernozem Zone
(SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, 28 Jan 81)..... 33

Lithuanian Decree Creating New Kolkhoz Centers, Enlarging Private Plots
(SOVETSKAYA LITVA, 24 Jan 81)..... 37

New Institute of Philosophy and Law in Latvia
(SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA, 13 Jan 81)..... 39

Need for Pensioners in Latvian Labor Force
(M. Khimich; SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA, 6 Dec 80)..... 40

More Consumer Goods From Local Resources in Estonia
(V. Klauson; PRAVDA, 6 Dec 80)..... 42

Cooperative Housing Construction Problems in Estonia
(V. Tikki; SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA, 6 Jan 81)..... 45

Publication of Works of Georgian Historian Delayed
(Solomon Khutsishvili; KOMUNISTI, 11 Jan 81)..... 47

Vil'yandi Successes Show Need for 'New Form of Farm Organization'
(M. Tamm; SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA, 26 Dec 80)..... 49

Far North Housing Should Conform to Native Tribal Customs
(I. Titov; PRAVDA, 13 Jan 81)..... 52

Local Authorities Obstruct Workers' Letters to Newspapers
(O. Gadaborshev, A. Kubarev; PRAVDA, 12 Jan 81)..... 56

INTERNATIONAL

GROMYKO ON SHARED INTERESTS OF USSR, AFRICAN COUNTRIES

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 1, Jan 81 (signed to press 19 Dec 80) pp 2-6

/Article by Doctor of Historical Sciences Anatoliy Gromyko, director of the Institute of Africa of the USSR Academy of Sciences: "The Soviet Policy of Peace and Africa"/

/Text/ The world is living through an era of revolutionary renewal, which was launched by Great October. During the 1950's through the 1970's Africa also actively participated in this process. Having thrown off the colonial yoke, the African countries entered the world arena as the subjects of international politics. The times of the absolute power and in no way limited freedom of action of imperialism in Africa, the times when colonizers isolated it and "shut the lock," have receded into the past never to return. Diplomatic relations began to be established between the Soviet Union and the countries of Africa, which had freed themselves from colonial dependence.

It is noteworthy that the 20th anniversary of the friendly visit of the head of the Soviet state, L. I. Brezhnev, to the African countries--Ghana, Guinea and Morocco--is in February 1981, when the 26th CPSU Congress will begin its work. This trip demonstrated the peace-loving foreign policy course of the USSR in Africa, its intention to build its relations with the young countries of the continent on a fundamentally different basis than the imperialist powers did.

The past years were a time of the fruitful development of Soviet-African relations and the steady growth of the prestige of the Soviet Union on the African continent. What factors did promote and are promoting this?

I

The Leninist policy of peace, the resolute opposition of imperialist aggression and the internationalist support of the peoples of Africa in their liberation struggle is the main, decisive factor. The Soviet state has pursued this policy since the day of the triumph of the Great October Socialist Revolution. In the first document of the Soviet government, Lenin's famous Decree on Peace, which was adopted by the Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets on 26 October (8 November) 1917, the socialist state spoke out against aggressive imperialist wars, annexations and the seizure of foreign lands and condemned "any annexation to a large or strong state of a small or weak nationality...."

Following the principle of the combination of the policy of peace and the support of the national liberation movement, the Soviet Union came out on the side of the Rif people in North Africa, who rose in the 1920's to a heroic struggle against the Spanish and French colonizers. In the 1930's the USSR was the only great power to support the Ethiopian people in their just struggle against the aggression of Italian fascism.

The rout of Nazi Germany and militaristic Japan, in which the Soviet Union played a decisive role, was a historically invaluable contribution to the cause of ensuring universal peace. The victory of the Soviet people in the Great Fatherland War, which cost them the heaviest sacrifices, also created favorable conditions for the gains of the national liberation struggle, including in Africa. "I am certain," Tunisian President Habib Bourguiba said in 1966, "that the October Revolution and the role which the USSR played in World War II in many ways promoted the liberation of enslaved peoples."[1]

The Soviet policy of peace is of a global nature. As the most powerful state of the socialist community, the Soviet Union bears the main load in the matter of protecting the peace and security of peoples against the encroachments of aggressive imperialist circles. Owing first of all to the strengthening of the defensive might of the USSR our planet has not known the horrors of world war for 35 years now. The collapse of the colonial system in Asia and Africa occurred precisely during this period. The former periphery of the capitalist system is now becoming the arena of progressive social reforms. The contribution of the young states, particularly the young African states, to the cause of universal peace is increasing.

However, the aggressive nature of imperialism to this day has not changed. It is prepared to nip in the bud and would nip in the bud any attempts of the African countries to achieve genuine independence, if it were not for the Soviet Union and world socialism. Precisely as a result of their resolute actions and the internationalist support given by them to the peoples of Africa the trilateral aggression against Egypt failed (the 1950's), Algeria achieved independence in the liberation war (the 1960's), the encroachments upon Angola and Ethiopia ended in failure (the 1970's).

The struggle for peace is effective and successful when the enormous popular masses of all countries and continents are drawn into it and take an active part in it. "We," V. I. Lenin set the task for communists, "should help peoples to have a hand in questions of war and peace."[2] One of the noble goals of the development of Soviet-African relations consists precisely in this.

II

The Peace Program, which was adopted by the 24th CPSU Congress and was developed by its 25th congress, was of exceptionally great importance for Africa. All the points of this program--from the task of halting the arms race to the rejection of the use of force and the threat of force in solving controversial issues--comply with the fundamental interests of all peoples of the earth, including the African peoples. A number of most important international goals, such as the complete elimination of all vestiges of the system of colonial oppression, all seats of colonialism and racism, as well as any manifestations of inequality, dictation and exploitation in international economic life have a most direct bearing on Africa.

The struggle of the Soviet Union to implement the Peace Program yielded perceptible fruits. The improvement of the international situation in the 1970's was its main result. It is unquestionable that the outstanding gains of the national liberation movement on the African continent during this period were most closely connected with the atmosphere of detente, which prevailed in international relations. Under the conditions of detente the last, the Portuguese, colonial empire ceased to exist, the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau achieved independence. The people of Zimbabwe won freedom, the struggle to eliminate the last seat of racism and colonialism in the southern part of Africa intensified. Now the question of liberating Namibia from the colonial racist yoke is on the agenda. The triumph of the national democratic popular revolution in Ethiopia was the most prominent event of the 1970's on the continent. During these years the group of countries of socialist orientation, which implemented profound socio-economic reforms and were in the forefront of the struggle of the African peoples for peace and social progress, increased in Africa.

In her speech of welcome, which was addressed to the 25th CPSU Congress, Secretary General of the (Party of the Congress of Independence) (ACFM) Gisele Rabesahala said: "We know that the gains of the national liberation movement in recent years are a result of the heroic struggle of the peoples of the developing countries, although we would like to emphasize that they were achieved under the conditions of the overall improvement of the international situation and detente, which ensued owing to the tireless efforts of the Soviet Union and the CPSU, their unswerving implementation of the Peace Program adopted by the 24th congress."[3]

How necessary detente is to the African countries is attested by their stand at the 32d Session of the UN General Assembly (1977) with respect to the draft of the Declaration on the Intensification and Strengthening of Detente, which was introduced by the Soviet Union for its consideration. The overwhelming majority of the African states voted for this document, in which there is noted the need for the process of detente "to embrace all regions of the world and to promote the settlement of unresolved international problems by peaceful means, by means of the participation and cooperation of states."

This position of the African states, which make up about a third of all the UN members, is acquiring particular topicality now, when the aggressive forces of imperialism headed by the United States have complicated the international situation, are pushing the world to a new arms race and are attempting to wreck the cause of detente. The forming international situation, as never before, imperiously requires the solidarity of all the forces of peace and progress for repulsing the forces of aggression and war and for the preservation and intensification of detente. The responsibility of the independent African, all developing and the nonalined countries for the fate of the world is increasing in this situation.

As a whole these countries have acted as allies of the Leninist policy of peace. In particular, their support of the peace initiatives of the Soviet Union in the United Nations is evidence of this. Acting in concert with the socialist countries, the African states have promoted adoption by the United Nations of a large number of important resolutions which are aimed at the strengthening of international peace and security, the curbing and prevention of aggression, the limitation of the arms race and disarmament, on questions of the struggle against colonialism and

racism. At the 34th Session (1979) of the UN General Assembly the majority of independent African states voted for the resolution "On the Inadmissibility of the Policy of Hegemony in International Relations" and at the 35th Session (1980) supported the draft of the resolution "On Some Urgent Measures to Reduce the Threat of War."

In turn the Soviet Union has vigorously supported in the United Nations all the constructive steps of the African countries, which are aimed at the struggle against colonialism, racism and neocolonialism and at the strengthening of security and stability both in various regions of Africa and on the continent as a whole. Among them are the proposal to declare Africa a nonnuclear zone, the idea advanced by Asian and a number of African states to transform the Indian Ocean into a peace zone by eliminating there all foreign military bases and so on.

The cooperation of the Soviet Union with African countries on questions of the drive to maintain and strengthen universal peace is a new positive factor in international relations, which stems from the coincidence of the fundamental interests of the Soviet Union and the progressive forces of Africa. Peaceableness is an integral feature of the foreign policy of socialism as a social system, in which there are no classes interested in war, no exploiting circles which are striving to enslave other countries and peoples, no military monopolies which are interested in an arms race and the receipt of the maximum profits. "Soviet power," L. I. Brezhnev noted, "arose under the banner of Lenin's Decree on Peace, and since that time the entire foreign policy of our country has been permeated with peaceableness."[4] Its main goal is "to defend the gains of October, to upset the imperialist intrigues against the homeland of socialism, to provide the necessary external conditions for the building of a communist society...."[5]

The freed African countries are also vitally interested in the preservation and strengthening of peace. Only under peaceful conditions can they develop their productive forces, to which colonialism did terrible harm, and to increase the standard of living of the peoples of the continent. Only a lasting and just peace will give them the complete right to choose their own path of development and to establish a sociopolitical system in conformity with their desires.

The devotion to the ideals of peace, which is common to the Soviet Union and the young African states, first of all the countries of socialist orientation, unites them in the struggle against the aggressive policy of imperialism and Beijing hegemony. This community is affording them extensive opportunities for stepping up the concerted struggle for peace, which is the main condition and prerequisite of progress.

III

The enemies of peace have always feared the truth. What false accusations the imperialists, Chinese hegemonists and various kinds of opportunists are making of the Soviet policy of peace in Africa! They are not ceasing the fuss concerning "the Soviet military threat," "Soviet-Cuban interference," "the export of revolution" and so forth. Each step of the Soviet Union in Africa--from aid to Algeria in winning independence to the support of Ethiopia in the repulsion of foreign aggression--has been characterized by imperialist and revisionist propaganda as an aspiration to establish "Soviet hegemonism" in African countries.

Back in 1919 V. I. Lenin exposed the political fraud of the enemies of socialism--those who "cry out against red militarism..., pretend as if they believe this nonsense and hurl similar accusations right and left, using for this their legal ability to make up false arguments and to get sand in the eyes of the masses."[6] V. I. Lenin called the opportunist figures, who spread slanderous assertions about "the export of revolution" and that the Bolsheviks wanted to establish their orders forcibly in other countries contrary to the will and wishes of their people, "madmen and agents provocateurs." "No force could destroy capitalism," he wrote, "if history had not eroded and undermined it."[7]

Time is a stern judge who announces a verdict which is no longer subject to appeal. Years, decades have passed since Africa established relations with the Soviet Union, yet Soviet "hegemonistic control," Soviet monopolies which would rob the wealth of the continent do not exist in any African country. The international solidarity and the support by the Soviet Union of the just liberation struggle of the African peoples have nothing in common with the interference in the internal affairs of other states, which characterizes imperialist policy. Quite the contrary--the Soviet policy of peace is aimed at the barring of such interference and at the creation of a new system of international relations, which is based on the principles of equality and the respect of the sovereignty of all countries, small and large.

Soviet-African relations, which are characterized by noninterference in internal affairs, the absence of any discrimination against each other and reciprocity in trade and economic affairs, are being developed successfully precisely on such noble principles as Africa had not previously known. These principles are proving themselves more and more on the African continent, undermining the unequal system of the relations of African countries with the imperialist states, which still exists here and is discriminatory to them. Characterizing the cooperation of the African countries and the Soviet Union, Zambian President K. Kaunda said: "The Soviet Union has consistently played and is playing its historical role of a reliable ally of the liberation movements. When we, the leaders of the movement for the independence of Zambia, were disillusioned with the dual policy of the West, we also turned to the traditional allies of the freedom fighters--the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.... We believe in the principles of the respect of national sovereignty and independence, freedom and justice. We believe in the principle of noninterference in the internal affairs of other independence countries. We firmly adhere to the principles of nonalinement as a tool of peace and cooperation. On the basis of these principles we will continue to cooperate with the Soviet Union and any people in the world."[8]

The high rating of the strengthened friendly relations of the countries of Africa with the USSR by the very leaders of these countries is the best response to western and Chinese "critics," and more precisely, the falsifiers of the Soviet policy of peace.

Of course, the relations between the USSR and some African states do not always develop without any obstacles and complications. Reactionary nationalist circles, which at this stage have a decisive influence on the formation of their foreign policy course, are raising their head in a number of countries, for example, in Egypt and Somali.

The Soviet Union never has supported and will not support adventuristic actions on the African continent. The new type of international relations is incompatible both with reactionary nationalism and with its extreme manifestations--chauvinism and aggression. The Soviet Union is a consistent and active supporter of the unity of the African countries, which is being cemented on an anti-imperialist, democratic basis. Since the founding of the Organization of African Unity in 1963 the Soviet Union has followed the road of supporting this organization, which is a significant factor in current international relations. Our country vigorously supports the decisions and actions of the OAU, which are aimed at the elimination of colonialism and racism in the southern part of Africa and at the assurance of peace and security on the African continent as a whole.

In June 1978 in connection with the stepping up of the aggressive policy of imperialism in Africa the Soviet Government made a statement in which the policy of the USSR with respect to African countries is set forth. "The interests of peace and the development of Africa," it was stated in the statement, "require the immediate halt of imperialist interference in the affairs of the African countries, the respect of their right to free and independent existence and to the maintenance of equal relations with all states in conformity with the principles and goals of the UN Charter. On its part the Soviet Union, as in the past, will do everything in its power so that matters in Africa would develop precisely in this direction...."[9]

In the 1970's the relations of the Soviet Union with African countries as a whole developed along an ascending line. During the second half of this decade they were marked by the signing of treaties of friendship and cooperation of the USSR with a number of African states of socialist orientation--the People's Republic of Angola (1976), the People's Republic of Mozambique (1977) and socialist Ethiopia (1978). A characteristic trait of these treaties is that in them it is not simply a matter of friendly relations of the parties, rather the resolve of the USSR to cooperate with Angola, Mozambique and Ethiopia for the purposes of defending and extending their revolutionary gains is expressed. Thus, in Article 2 of the Soviet-Ethiopian treaty it is emphasized that the partners "will cooperate closely in providing the conditions for the preservation and further development of the socio-economic gains of their peoples...."

In this, as in the other treaties of the countries of socialist orientation with the Soviet Union there is embodied the principle of proletarian internationalism, which is the cornerstone of the Soviet policy of peace. The imperialists oppose proletarian internationalism especially fiercely, attempting to represent it as "the export of revolution." The essence of proletarian internationalism, in particular, consists in the support by the Soviet Union of the progress of African countries of socialist orientation by the methods and means sanctioned by the UN Charter and contemporary international law, for the purpose of defending the cause of revolution from the imperialist export of counterrevolution. Proletarian internationalism creates the conditions under which the freed countries of Africa determine themselves the course of their social development.

IV

The struggle of the Soviet Union to reorganize international economic relations on a democratic basis is one of the most important directions of the Leninist policy

of peace. At the 25th CPSU Congress it was emphasized that "the Soviet Union fully supports the legal aspirations of young states, their resolve to rid themselves completely of imperialist exploitation and to manage their national wealth by themselves." In the Program of the Further Struggle for Peace and International Cooperation, Freedom and Independence the congress set for Soviet foreign policy the task "to seek the elimination of discrimination and any artificial barriers in international trade, the elimination of all manifestations of inequality, dictation and exploitation in international economic relations."[10]

The Soviet Union actively supports the just demands of African countries on a radical change of their unequal, discriminatory relations with the imperialist powers. The Soviet proposals on the reorganization of international economic relations, which were made at the 31st Session of the UN General Assembly (1976), were aimed at solving these problems. In a statement of the Soviet Government on this issue it was indicated that "the current nature of international economic relations, which formed under a completely different distribution of world forces and conforms only with the selfish interests of the imperialist monopolies, has come into contradiction with the vital interests of the enormous majority of countries and with the development of the overall international situation."[11]

The Soviet Union took the side of the African and other developing countries at the 11th Special Session of the UN General Assembly on Economic Questions, which was held in August-September 1980. Displaying an understanding of the specific needs and problems of the developing countries, the USSR supported the legitimacy of the raising by these countries of the question of obtaining from outside assets for the financing of development. Our country believes that such demands should be advanced by the developing countries in the context of reimbursement for the harm done to them by colonial exploitation on the part of the former parent states, as well as compensation for the losses which they are now bearing as a result of the activity of transnational corporations. The just demands of these countries on the transfer to them of resources to overcome backwardness should also be realized by reducing the unproductive expenditures on the arms race which has been imposed by imperialism.

The struggle of the Soviet Union for equal international economic relations and for the overcoming of the backwardness of African countries is being waged not only at the sessions of the United Nations and other international conferences. The Soviet Union is showing an example of equal trade and economic relations in real life, in international practice. Precisely such relations exist and are being developed between the USSR and the states of Africa.

With the assistance of the Soviet Union hundreds of enterprises of the extractive, metallurgical, power, machine building and light industries, which become the property of these countries and a part of their national economy, have been and are being built in African countries. More than 80 percent of the assets stipulated by Soviet-African agreements on economic and technical cooperation are being allocated for the development of the sectors of the production sphere, including about 70 percent for the development of industry and power engineering. Soviet aid is promoting the industrialization of the African countries and the progress of their economy. For example, a steel smelting shop of the metallurgical combine in El Hadjaj (Algeria), which produces 410,000 tons of steel a year, was built with the

technical assistance of the USSR. The operation of this shop increased nearly 14-fold the annual production of steel in the country and now meets entirely the needs of Algeria for rolled steel products. According to the agreements concluded with the Soviet Union in the second half of the 1970, the independent countries of Africa received and are receiving an annual increase of capacities for the generation of electric power of 2.9 million kW, pig iron--2.75 million tons, steel--4.4 million tons, for the mining of iron ore—3.5 million tons, for the production of petroleum products--2.65 million tons. The petroleum refinery in Assab (Ethiopia), which was built with the assistance of the Soviet Union, is completely supplying the country with gasoline and other petroleum products.

The Soviet Union is giving the utmost assistance to African countries in the matter of training national personnel. Students from more than 40 African countries are studying in the USSR. Tens of thousands of Soviet specialists are helping these countries to develop national industry and a public health system and to reorganize agriculture.

In expanding economic cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, the African states are dealing with a planned socialist economy, which is developing dynamically and does not know crises. This not only provides them with a growing market, but also saves them from all kinds of losses which they bear during the economic crises of capitalism. The economic assistance of the Soviet Union to African countries is being rendered not for the sake of obtaining superprofits, as happens in the relations with transnational monopolies, but for the purpose of the development of mutually advantageous cooperation and the acceleration of the economic and social progress of these countries.

It is well known that the African countries, in relying on equal cooperation with the Soviet Union, obtain an opportunity to put pressure on imperialist companies and at times force them to agree to concessions. As British bourgeois scholar C. Stevens was forced to admit in his book "The Soviet Union and Black Africa," the advantages of the states with a planned economy in the area of trade development consists in the fact that they trade independent of "the free market." The author writes that the African countries "have been able to derive advantage: the socialist states helped their African partners to strengthen their positions in the sphere of their traditional export."[12] The fruitful, mutually advantageous Soviet-African cooperation is receiving the fervent approval of the governmental and political figures of Africa. Moroccan Prime Minister A. Osman noted: "We can with every right express our satisfaction with the fact that over these years permanent economic, trade, cultural and technical relations, which have yielded fruitful and positive results, have been established between us...."[13]

Being an integral part of the Soviet policy of peace, the equal cooperation of the USSR with African countries can serve the strengthening of friendship and mutual understanding among peoples. It has become an effective factor of peace on the African continent.

At each of its congresses the CPSU has invariably checked its course according to the Leninist compass. Soviet foreign policy always was, is and will be faced with a lofty goal--the preservation and strengthening of peace throughout the world. Speaking on the preparation for the 26th CPSU Congress, L. I. Brezhnev stated:

"We will henceforth spare no efforts to preserve detente and everything good that the 1970's gave us, to achieve a change of direction toward disarmament, to support the right of peoples to free and independent development, to protect and strengthen peace."14

The Soviet people are approaching the 26th CPSU Congress under the banner of the struggle for peace and against the danger of war. Among their allies in this sacred struggle is independent Africa.

FOOTNOTES

1. PRAVDA, 26 March 1966.
2. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch." /Complete Works/, Vol 35, p 16.
3. PRAVDA, 6 March 1976.
4. L. I. Brezhnev, "O vneshney politike KPSS i Sovetskogo gosudarstva" /On the Foreign Policy of the CPSU and the Soviet State/, Moscow, Politizdat, 1978, p 678.
5. Ibid., p 66.
6. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.," Vol 38, p 50.
7. Ibid., Vol 32, p 99.
8. PRAVDA, 30 March 1977.
9. PRAVDA, 23 June 1978.
10. L. I. Brezhnev, "Otchet Tsentral'nogo Komiteta KPSS XXV s"yezdu partii i ocherednyye zadachi partii v oblasti vnutrenney i vneshney politiki" /Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 25th Party Congress and the Immediate Tasks of the Party in the Area of Domestic and Foreign Policy/, Moscow, 1976, pp 15, 32.
11. PRAVDA, 5 October 1976.
12. C. Stevens, "The Soviet Union and Black Africa," London, 1976, pp 28-29, 82.
13. PRAVDA, 10 March 1978.
14. PRAVDA, 24 June 1980.

COPYRIGHT: "Aziya i Afrika segodnya", 1981. Glavnaya redaktsiya vostochnoy literatury izdatel'stva "Nauka".

7807
CSO: 1807

IBRAGIMOV ON SOLIDARITY WITH THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 2, Feb 81 (signed to press 23 Jan 81) pp 4-6

[Article by Mirza Ibragimov, chairman of the Soviet committee for solidarity with countries of Asia and Africa: "The Solidarity Movement: Accomplishments and Prospects"]

[Text] The Soviet people are proceeding toward an event of immense historical importance--the 26th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. One can say with confidence that the forthcoming forum will not only play an immense role in the life of our country but will undoubtedly be a phenomenon of world significance. The invaluable contribution of the Soviet Union to the struggle for the cause of peace and detente and its support of the struggle of nations for national independence as well as economic and social progress has won the country of the Soviets the love and respect of millions of people on all continents.

The period since the 25th CPSU Congress has many clear examples of the internationalism of the Soviet people and their active participation in the struggle for widespread international cooperation as well as for peace and social progress. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Soviet government and all Soviet people are actively and purposively implementing the decisions of the 24th and 25th CPSU Congresses which were directed toward achieving a universal and stable peace.

In his address to participants in the 35th session of the U.N. General Assembly, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, L. I. Brezhnev emphasized that the Soviet Union "will continue in the future to be quite decisive in achieving a consolidation of peace, a consolidation of detente, curtailment of the arms race and final elimination of colonialism and its consequences in political, economic, social and cultural areas."

One of the most important conditions for the struggle of nations for freedom is the cooperation of socialist states and national liberation forces which is becoming stronger from day to day. Successes of the national liberation movement are conditioned to a decisive degree by the significant growth of political activity and the stronger unity of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, the growing solidarity, organization and close interaction of all progressive and peace-loving forces of modernity, and the all-around assistance and support of the just struggle of these nations on the part of the USSR and other socialist countries.

The soviet committee for solidarity with countries of Asia and Africa is participating actively in this struggle. May 1981 marks the 25th anniversary of its foundation--for a quarter of a centur; the committee has been working actively for consolidation of the ranks for the movement of solidarity and rendering it active and effective assistance. The Soviet public is a militant vanguard of the movement for solidarity with nations of Asia and Africa and will serve as an important factor in the anti-imperialist struggle.

The communist party and the soviet government has given a high rating to the fruitful activity of the soviet committee for solidarity. In 1976 it was awarded the Order of Friendship of Peoples for its large contribution to the international movement for Afro-Asian solidarity.

The voice of the soviet committee for solidarity is the voice of all peoples of the USSR who are staunch supporters of the freedom of Asia, Africa and Latin America and for elimination of the shameful system of neocolonialism and oppression. The soviet committee for solidarity, expressing the position of millions of soviet people, is doing everything it can to provide moral, political and practical assistance to all fighters for freedom and independence, and is striving to extensively propagandize the experience of the deep social and cultural transformations that have taken place in our country.

The active participation of the soviet public in the movement for solidarity is demonstrated by the fact that for many years now local committees for solidarity have been in operation in the union republics of Central Asia and Transcaucasia and also in a number of oblasts and krayons of the country, including the Far East.

The soviet committee for solidarity includes representatives of various circles of the soviet public. It includes workers, kolkhozes, writers, scholars, composers, teachers, artisans, artists, physicians, journalists, public, party and state activists, and deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Supreme Soviets of the Union and autonomous republics. Participating in the committee's activity are thousands of activists who devote their effort and knowledge, their fervent enthusiasm and energy to the noble cause of solidarity with the struggle of nations against imperialist forces and international reactionism.

The soviet committee for solidarity arranges work in close contact and cooperation with the AUCCTU, the soviet committee for the protection of peace, the union of soviet societies for friendship and cultural ties with foreign countries, the soviet peace fund, the committee of soviet women, the committee of USSR youth organizations and other organizations.

The soviet committee for solidarity with countries of Asia and Africa has extensive friendly ties with national committees for solidarity and revolutionary-democratic parties of more than 80 countries of the world.

Expressing the will of the soviet public, the soviet committee for solidarity with countries of Asia and Africa is steadily expanding ties and strengthening points of friendship with national liberation movements of two continents and is participating actively in important international measures that are being conducted by the Organization for Solidarity of Nations of Asia and Africa (OSNAA).

Many such measures have been taken recently. Thus, for example, the visit of the representative delegation of the OSNAA to the People's Republic of Kampuchea in January 1980 was a significant contribution to the cause of international recognition of the victory of the Kampuchean people and the halting of the criminal activity of Maoism in the international arena. Eminent social and political activists of a whole number of countries of Asia and Africa and also Western Europe could see for themselves the tragedy for the people of Kampuchea that resulted from the inhuman experiments of the pro-Peking clique of Pol Pot, the self-sacrifice with which the Kampuchean people are working today, and the strength of their desire to restore their destroyed economy and arrange a normal life.

The international meeting on solidarity which took place in Kabul in June 1980 on the initiative of the OSNAA caused many reverberations throughout the world. Its participants adopted an "Appeal to the Afghan People," which says: "When we return home we shall tell our compatriots the truth about Afghanistan. We will tell them about the difficult conditions under which you have to live, work and struggle today, we shall tell them about your valor and perserverance, about your resolve to staunchly follow the course of the April revolution. We shall tell the whole world the truth about our enemies, about those who are representing themselves to be 'friends of Islam,' kill the true Muslims, destroy their homes and ravage their land. We know that your worst enemies are imperialism, reactionism and hegemonism."

A significant landmark in the struggle of the peoples of Asia for peace and security and for the transformation of the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace was the international conference on solidarity with the struggle of the peoples of Asia and Africa for security and national independence which the OSNAA devoted to the 25th anniversary of Bandung. The conference was held in May 1980 in Colombo, the capital of Sri Lanka. Its participants emphasized that a most important condition for surmounting the obstacles standing on the path to the implementation of the historic decisions and principles of Bandung is the further struggle for consolidation of the ranks of all anti-imperialist forces in the interests of peace, national independence and social progress, in the interests of counteracting the dangerous plots of international imperialism and reactionism.

The international conference against imperialist military bases and for security and cooperation which the OSNAA held in March of last year in Malta was a demonstration of the immense attention that national liberation movements and all progressive forces of Asia and Africa devote to questions of the struggle for peace and detente. The results of the conference confirm once again the fact that anti-imperialist forces, world socialism, the national liberation movement, and the international workers' movement are filled with resolve to subvert the military strategic plans of imperialism and to defend the just cause of the struggle of the peoples for a stable peace, international detente, social progress and democracy.

The organization for solidarity of the nations of Asia and Africa devotes special attention to such presently crucial problems of the national liberation movement as the achievement of economic independence, the insurance of the socio-economic progress of developing countries and the struggle for a new international economic policy.

The movement for Afro-Asian solidarity considers it an insistent need to radically restructure international economic ties so that they provide for equal rights and

mutual advantage in relations among countries. The OSNAA is categorically against all manifestations of neocolonialism in international economic relations, against the imperialist course toward continuation and deepening of the exploitation of developing countries, and against any forms of inequality, discrimination and dictatorship. It is necessary to take decisive measures to eliminate obstacles that have been created on the path to the economic liberation of developing countries and nations. Life requires that we put an end to the policy of imperialism, neocolonialism, expansion and intervention in the internal affairs of nations. Normalization of international relations, the curtailment of the wasteful arms race and the elimination of the threat of a thermo-nuclear war are most important and necessary conditions for resolving the numerous problems of developing countries.

A colloquium of the OSNAA conducted in May 1980 in Strasbourg and also an international seminar convened on its initiative in September in New York which attracted the attention of progressive scholars were devoted to considering these crucial problems. These are precisely the positions taken by the representative delegation of the OSNAA at a special session of the U.N. General Assembly regarding questions of economic development.

Materials published on the pages of the quarterly publication of the permanent secretariat of the organization for solidarity--"Development and Socio-Economic Progress" --evoked considerable interest. The soviet committee for solidarity intends to actively support the broad program of measures concerning problems of socio-economic development which the OSNAA plans to carry out in 1981.

The year 1980 saw important political events that took place on the African continent. The long and persistent struggle of patriots of Zimbabwe led to the formation of an independent Republic of Zimbabwe.

The victory of national patriotic forces in this country dealt another appreciable blow to the plans of imperialists to impose the neocolonial decision on the peoples of South Africa and to retain their control over this important region of the world.

There was further development of the national liberation struggle of the peoples of Namibia and the UAR under the leadership of the National Organization of Southwest Africa (SVAPO) and the African National Congress of South Africa (ANK).

Retreating under the pressure of the liberation movement, international imperialism in alliance with the South African racist regime of white intervention is turning to various kinds of political maneuvers directed at impeding the liberation movement, isolating national liberation movements, and dividing forces that support them. The ruling circles of the United States, Great Britain, the FRG, France, Israel and a number of other states are directly responsible for crimes committed by South African racists against peoples of the UAR and Namibia and also sovereign African states, above all against The People's Republic of Angola and the Republic of Zambia.

Western countries and Israel are actively developing military nuclear cooperation with the UAR, which is evidenced by the explosion of a nuclear device in the southern Atlantic. Ties between the UAR and dictatorial regimes of South America, primarily Chile, Paraguay and Uraguay, are also expanding.

The movement for solidarity with the struggle with the peoples of South Africa in Western Europe and America is becoming more and more active. An important role in this is being played by the international committee against apartheid, racism and colonialism in South Africa, on whose initiative a campaign has been developed in many countries for the release of political prisoners of South Africa and Namibia. Under pressure from the world community South African racists have been forced to repeal the death sentence for J. Mange, an activist of the African National Congress. The campaign for the release of N. Mondela has acquired a broad scale. He was one of the eminent leaders of the national liberation movement of South Africa who was sentenced to life imprisonment on the notorious island of Robben, which was transformed by UAR powers into a jail for fighters against apartheid and racism.

The soviet people and the progressive world community demand immediate release of political prisoners who are languishing in UAR torture chambers, the complete removal of all South African troops, police and UAR administration who are illegally on the territory of Namibia, and the transfer of all power in this country into the hands of the only legal representative of the Namibian people--the SVAPO. They demand elimination of the shameful system of apartheid in the UAR and appeal to the world community for all-around support of the just struggle of the peoples of Namibia and South Africa.

The international conference on solidarity with the struggle of Namibia held in Paris on 11-13 September 1980 was very important. The declaration adopted by the participants in the conference announced their support of the struggle of the Namibian people and condemned the diplomatic manouvers of the United States, Great Britain, the FRG, Canada and France around this country. The conference called upon the U.N. to adopt all-encompassing mandatory sanctions against the UAR.

In December 1980 the world community celebrated the 20th anniversary of the historic Declaration Concerning Offering Independence to Colonial Countries and Nations, which was adopted by the U.N. in 1960 on the initiative of the Soviet Union. The declaration played an important role in the process of decolonialization, which became especially widespread in Africa in the 1960's and culminated with the collapse of certain powerful colonial empires.

The region of the Near and Middle East remains one of the potentially explosive hotbeds of international tension. The exacerbation of the situation is directly related to attempts on the part of the United States and their allies to implement the Camp David agreement which runs counter to the national interests of the Palestinian and other Arab peoples. Progressive democratic forces are resolutely condemning this anti-Arabian transaction and the dangerous plans and actions of American imperialism, and they are consistently supporting the struggle of the Arab people of Palestine and their recognized vanguard--the Organization for the Liberation of Palestine.

Within the framework of the international movement for solidarity with Arab peoples, the Soviet committee for solidarity has conducted active work to prepare and conduct a number of large forums on solidarity. The world conference on solidarity with Arab nations held in November 1979 in Lisbon received immense political reaction throughout the world. The initiator of this representative forum was the All-Arab People's Congress (ONK)--a progressive socio-political organization that unites within its ranks national-patriotic and anti-imperialist forces of the Arab world.

The Lisbon conference and the broad program adopted there for joint actions on the part of all anti-imperialist forces was new evidence of the activization of the world community in support of the struggle for Arab peoples for eliminating the consequences of Israeli aggression, for consolidation of their national independence and social progress, and against the neocolonialist policy of imperialism.

The international conference on solidarity with the Lebanese people held in June 1980 in Paris was a clear demonstration of the solidarity of the world democratic community with the struggle of national patriotic forces of Lebanon. Participants in the conference noted that the development of events in the Near East, particularly in Lebanon, makes it quite obvious that the course taken by the United States administration in this area toward undermining comprehensive regulation and carrying out separate transactions is leading to further escalation of the potentially explosive crisis and the retention here of a hotbed of permanent threat to international peace and stability.

One of the immediate goals of the present U.S. military and political escalation in the region consists in an attempt to establish direct military control over the petroleum regions of Near and Middle East. Under the pretense of "protecting their vitally important interests," the United States is increasing its armed forces, primarily naval, in the Arabian Sea and the approaches to the Persian Gulf, thus creating a real threat to the sovereignty and independence of the nations of this region.

Under the conditions of the expansion of interventionist plans and actions on the part of the United States in the zone of the Persian Gulf, the OSNAA and the ONK have taken an extremely important and prompt initiative by convening in Nicosia (Cypress) an international conference on solidarity with the anti-imperialist struggle of the nations of the Persian Gulf zone. Participants in the Nicosia forum condemned U.S. intrigues in the Persian Gulf, the shameful Camp David transactions, and Israel's gross indifference to the rights of the Arab Palestinian people as well as the desire of the United States to restore imperialist influence in Iran. The principled and consistent position of the Soviet Union which is on the side of the anti-imperialist struggle of the peoples of the Persian Gulf and of the national liberation movements of the Near and Middle East was judged highly by the participants.

Expressing the will of the entire soviet public, the soviet committee for solidarity will continue in the future to strive to consolidate the unity of anti-imperialist forces, to further development ties with the communities of the countries of Asia and Africa, and to consolidate the interactions of national detachments of the movement for Afro-Asian solidarity. We shall come out just as actively in favor of elimination of all remnants of colonialism and racism, apartheid and genocide, and for freedom and independence of peoples of these continents. Soviet people see it as their international duty to make a worthy contribution to the struggle of peace-loving forces for the elimination of the hotbeds of crises and military conflicts that are engendered by imperialism.

One can say quite definitely that the years that separate us from the historic 25th Party Congress were filled with a large amount of hard work and considerable successes in all areas, including in the strengthening of ties with the national

liberation movement. The soviet committee for solidarity with countries of Asia and Africa has made its contribution to this work.

COPYRIGHT: "Aziya i Afrika segodnya", 1981. Glavnaya redaktsiya vostochnoy literatury izdatel'stva "Nauka".

11772
CSO: 1807/77

U.S. AIMS IN FOMENTING IRAN-IRAQ CONFLICT EXAMINED

Moscow POLITICHESKOYE SAMOOBRAZOVANIYE in Russian No 1, Jan 81(signed to press 26 Dec 80)pp 90-94

[Article by N. Vasin: "Who Gains By the Iraq-Iran Conflict?"]

[Excerpt] The Iraq-Iran armed conflict has not and naturally cannot bring any advantage to either Iraq or Iran. The armed actions between them not only considerably damage the conflicting countries and weaken their political and economic positions in the anti-imperialist struggle, but they also complicate the situation in the region, which the imperialist forces are trying to take advantage of.

Since the first days of the Iraq-Iran conflict, statements by the State Department and by officials have invariably stated U.S. "neutrality" and have even contained calls for its speediest "peaceful settlement." But in fact, Washington has unleashed active moves attempting to use the armed collision between Iran and Iraq for its own mercenary purposes. U.S. representative MacHenry, speaking in the UN Security Council on 23 October 1980, openly admitted that the neutral U.S. position in the Iraq-Iran conflict does not signify an intention to remain aloof from it.

With a view towards practical implementation of its expansionist policy, the USA first of all accelerated its concentration of naval, air and marine forces in the Persian Gulf and Straits of Hormuz zone, that is, in the immediate vicinity of Iran and Iraq. The United States has put 32 warships in the region adjacent to the conflict zone, including three aircraft carriers carrying 160-180 combat aircraft each, with a range of operation which includes Teheran and Baghdad. The USA has quickly deployed four military AVAX radar-system aircraft at Saudi Arabian airfields and sent along 400 American military pilots and specialists to monitor electronically combat operations along the entire length of the Iraq-Iran border and all ship movements in the Persian Gulf and Straits of Hormuz.

At the same time, the United States has taken urgent steps preparatory to deploying naval and air force units at bases recently made available to them in Egypt, Somalia, Kenya, Oman, Bahrain, the island of Diego Garcia, and at bases the USA leases in Turkey. Steps are being taken to transfer marine units and combat equipment from the "rapid deployment forces" created especially by the Pentagon and numbering 200,000 to 250,000 to the near approaches to the Middle East conflict zone.

At Washington's insistence, along with American ships, 19 combat ships from France, four from England and several ships from Australia, including an aircraft carrier, have also been sent to the conflict zone.

Counting on its allies for direct support of its militarist plans, Washington has unfolded an extensive propaganda campaign regarding the threat which has supposedly arisen of a blockade by Iran and Iraq of the Straits of Hormuz and the creation of artificial obstacles to the passage of oil tankers and other commercial ships of Western countries shipping petroleum out of Persian Gulf ports. There have been numerous reports in the Western press to the effect that stopping petroleum shipments from Iraq and Iran to the international capitalist market would somehow threaten the entire world with a catastrophic energy crisis. And it is at this point that the USA proposes a plan for creating "multinational naval forces" to ensure "free navigation" through the Straits of Hormuz. In this connection, UN Secretary General Waldheim has made inquiries of the governments of Iran and Iraq. The governments of both countries have sent Waldheim corresponding explanations. In particular, President Banisadr of Iran made official assurances that Iran "has absolutely no intention of interfering with peaceful navigation and legal international trade in the conflict region."

Attempts by Washington to internationalize its plans for military interference in the conflict have not found the expected support, even among its closest allies. And only Egyptian President Sadat, currying favor with its transoceanic patron, has declared his readiness to place at the disposal of the United States bases on ARE [Arab Republic Egypt] territory from which they "can reach the Persian Gulf and defend their interests there."

Washington's military-political and diplomatic actions testify to the fact that the USA is using the situation which has evolved in the Persian Gulf zone to try to strengthen its military presence there. Foreign military penetration into the Near and Middle East is taking place under the eyes of the entire world. The unity of the Arab world is being shaken apart, to the joy of the enemies of the Arab peoples. They are also counting on a weakening of the anti-imperialist orientation of the policies of both Iran and Iraq. And two neighboring people are paying for all this with their own blood.

Since the start of the conflict, the USA has hardened the economic blockade it and its NATO allies have imposed on Iran and has limited trade ties with Iraq. It has stopped all deliveries to these countries of food, fuel, lubricants and spare parts for industrial equipment under contracts previously signed. Using the military-political and economic difficulties of Iran, the USA has mounted new pressure on the government of Iran for the purpose of freeing the American diplomats being held hostage in Teheran since November 1979. In this regard, Washington is not stinting in its promises to ease the economic blockade and supply spare parts for the military planes and helicopters previously purchased in the USA and now being used by Iran in military actions against Iraq if Iran will re-examine its anti-imperialist policy. At the same time, American government circles have been playing a diplomatic game with Iraq as well, promising to help in solving certain of its political and economic problems.

At the same time, the Iraq-Iran conflict is being used by American and Israeli special services to cast aspersions on the precise, clear policy of the Soviet government on this question, to disorient governmental and public circles in Iran and Iraq and sow among them mistrust of the Soviet Union, which is a true friend of the peoples of the East. It is for precisely this purpose that all manner of rumors and conjecture about mythical Soviet arms deliveries to one of the combatants through the port of Aqaba, about the "participation" of Soviet specialists in combat operations on the Iraq-Iran border, which have nothing to do with reality, it goes without saying, have been spread by press and radio and through diplomatic channels.

The progressive world community has been seriously disturbed by the new armed conflict in the Middle East, by U.S. attempts to use it for its own militarist and expansionist purposes. The governments and public of India, Afghanistan, the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Syria and a number of other countries have called on Iraq and Iran to cease military actions and resolve the questions in dispute by peaceful means. Many regional and national public organizations have expressed concern in connection with escalation of the armed conflict between Iraq and Iran, noting that it is advantageous only to imperialist forces, headed by the USA. Washington, as was properly noted by the Lebanese newspaper AS-SHAAB on 27 November 1980, is counting on this conflict to bleed the countries of the Near and Middle East white, to deprive them of the possibility of waging an active struggle against Israeli expansion, to create a pretext to strengthen the American strategic military presence in the Persian Gulf region. "In trying to draw out the conflict between Iran and Iraq," the newspaper writer, "the USA is rendering Tel Aviv a great service."

The Iraq-Iran conflict and the situation which has evolved around it have been discussed repeatedly in the UN Security Council, which has expressed its concern about the continuing military actions. With the consent of Security Council members, UN Secretary General Waldheim sent his own special representative, Ulaf Pal'ma, former Prime Minister of Switzerland, to Baghdad and Teheran to discuss with representatives of both countries possible ways of ceasing military actions and settling the dispute through talks.

Countries participating in the nonaligned movement have also taken up the search for ways of peacefully settling the questions in dispute between Iraq and Iran. The coordination committee of the nonaligned countries created a goodwill committee for the purpose of working out recommendations and acting as an intermediary to settle the Iraq-Iran conflict. Cuba and India have been most active in offering concrete proposals on ceasing military actions on the Iraq-Iran border.

The Soviet Union, pursuing a principled Leninist foreign-policy course, has from the very start favored and now favors immediate cessation of military actions between Iraq and Iran. In expressing its deep concern regarding the Iraq-Iran conflict, the Soviet Union thinks military actions are harmful to the interests of the peoples of Iraq and Iran, to the cause of peace and security in this region, as to the international situation as a whole. As Comrade L. I. Brezhnev stated on a recent visit to India, "The USSR is resolutely in favor of peaceful settlement of this conflict. We condemn any attempts to facilitate drawing it out, to pour oil on the flames of war by any method."

The Soviet Union opposes the imperialist doctrine of aggression and diktat relative to the Persian Gulf countries with a doctrine of genuine peace and security. The Soviet proposals put forward in Delhi were greeted with approval in the countries of this region. "The peoples living in the Persian Gulf region, in whose waters the U.S.'s largest naval armada is currently cruising," wrote the Kuwait newspaper AL'-VATAN, "are firmly convinced that the new initiative put forward by the Soviet leader serves the interests of strengthening their independence." The USSR is ready to welcome any other initiatives which would lead to a lessening of tension and be dictated by concern for strengthening peace in Asia and throughout the world.

COPYRIGHT: Izdatel'stvo "Pravda", "Politicheskoye samoobrazovaniye", 1981

11052
CSO: 1807/55

POLICIES OF ITALIAN CP EXAMINED, CRITIQUED

Moscow VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS in Russian No 1, 1981 (signed to press 20 Jan 81) pp 95-98

[Article by G.P. Smirnov: "The Italian Communist Party (On the Occasion of the 60th Anniversary of its Founding)"]

[Text] The Italian Communist Party is the most significant and organized political force in the country, one of the largest communist parties in the capitalist world; on 21 January 1981 it will celebrate its 60th anniversary. At the present time, the ranks of the ICP number 1,752,000 members; it maintains stable positions in parliament, in local self-governmental organs, in trade-union, youth and cooperative movements and in other mass public organizations. Italian communists are for unification of the working class, the laboring peasantry, representatives of so-called middle strata and all democratic forces in the struggle against monopolies and for democracy and socialism.

One of the complex and important problems in a survey of the historical path traveled by the Italian Communist Party in the 60 years of its existence is to find internal unity in all the diversity and sometimes contradictions of its past and present activities and to indicate with sufficient completeness the essence of its policy and political outlook. This is difficult to do for a number of reasons. They include an ambiguity of political positions among its leadership during the period of the party's formation and the inevitable change of tactical directions in connection with changes in historical conditions and the search for new ways sometimes connected with mistakes and necessary corrections. But regardless how difficult this task might be, the most important duty of every investigator is first and foremost establishment of the unity of that historical reality which is the Italian Communist Party. For there is nothing simpler than to take this or that period of its present or past history and to declare that this is the "real" ICP and all the rest only retreats, fluctuations or maneuvers. But such an approach would be fallacious.

Without attempting a detailed exposition of the most important historical events in the life of the Italian Communist Party, let us try to disclose the chief characteristic features of its operation at the various stages.

The basis of the Italian Communist Party was the specific reaction to the situation arising in the beginnings of the '20s in the Italian workers movement. During this period there began to be felt all the more preceptibly a discrepancy between the policy of the Italian Socialist Party and the rise of a revolutionary mood among

Italian laboring people. It is true that the extreme left ("maximalist") wing of the ISP with a majority in the party and its leadership announced in 1919 its joining the Comintern and acknowledgment of the most important principles of Marxist theory of socialist revolution (dictatorship of the proletariat, use of revolutionary force for gaining of power and so on). But this did not lead to the concretization of the socialist party's political line or to bringing into conformity with Italian conditions. Actually, it was restricted to preaching of revolution and a passive awaiting of a spontaneous explosion of dissatisfaction of the masses. The result of this was that among the laboring masses, the feeling was strengthened of disillusionment and powerlessness among the middle strata of the population, the natural allies of the proletariat--alarm in the face of revolutionary chaos.

The policy held in the socialist party by its reformist minority did not provide clear guidelines; the latter opposed the revolutionary perspective but at the same time did not indicate clear-cut lines in the democratic restructuring of society.

Thus, the Italian Communist Party came into being as an objective necessity stemming from the historical experience of the Italian workers movement and from its successes and unsolved contradictions.

The young organization of communists did not succeed in immediately assuming the correct direction. Being better organized and more numerous, the leadership of the party was taken by the sectarian wing headed by A. Bordiga, who severely criticized V.I. Lenin for his dogmatism and views on parliamentary activity as the chief source of misinterpretation of the socialist movement. But the worse thing of all was, as P. Togliatti wrote, that Bordiga "operated from abstract principles determined by the process of thinking which should be suitable for all times and for every situation. Gaining of power was made into an end goal, but differences in intermediary positions and their dialectical connection disappeared, the necessity for a political democratic movement and a democratic way was denied. The opposition of classes was expressed in rigid political schematic opposition; opponents became identical, and gaining of allies became no longer possible. Form and word dominated content, consistency was transformed into stubbornness, and the party's operation was unable to achieve any breadth, reducing itself to purely propagandistic and polemical exercises... The vanguard was transformed into a sect which was tempered in the expectation of a situation where the masses would reach the level of its position and it would be in a condition of leading them to the final victory."[1]

The sectarian line of Bordiga's leadership was all the more harmful because it was being implemented in the face of armed attacks by fascism. The armed movement of the people, the so-called "people's daredevils," that began in Italy turned out to be practically leaderless. Under these conditions the activities of A. Gramsci, P. Togliatti and other prominent figures of the communist party, who had taken the route of breaking off from Bordiga's sectarian line and implementing an organic policy of unity with the masses, were of tremendous importance. It was no accident that in those days A. Gramsci proposed to give the name of UNITA ("Unity") to the workers' and peasants' newspaper of the Italian communists.

At a national conference of the party held in 1924, A. Gramsci and P. Togliatti came out openly against A. Bordiga's theses and were able to rally around them the majority of the leaders of the party. A. Gramsci, P. Togliatti and M.Scoccima o, as well as a number of other comrades, conducted a determined fight to shift

the entire party to Leninist positions. This struggle ended with a victory by the new ruling group at the Lyons congress of the ICP in 1926.

Thus, in the very first stage of the Italian Communist Party's activity, certain characteristic features are delineated. They include intolerance of political abstention, the blocking of any possibility of struggle by the working class with fascism and the rejection of political union as a concession to the bourgeoisie and the desire to expand the ties of the party with the masses and to achieve unity of class-revolutionary forces in the struggle for democratic changes and socialism.

It is important to note that at this stage, the turning of Italian communists to the revolutionary experience of the Land of the Soviets was of tremendous importance. A. Gramsci and P. Togliatti looked upon the October Revolution as a fundamental historical event. While attentively analyzing the experience of the October Revolution, A. Gramsci emphasized, for example, the importance of the alliance of the working class with the peasantry. "The Russian revolution," he wrote, "found its strength, its salvation in the fact that in Russia workers and peasants, operating from different motives, moved by different feelings, found themselves united in their aspiration for a common aim in a joint struggle..."[2] A. Gramsci derived from the experience of the Great October Revolution and from Lenin's ideas other elements of their theoretical developments: the hegemony of the proletariat in a revolution, establishment of its political power, teaching on party armed with advance revolutionary theory, new forms of self-government by the laboring people and others.

At the same time, there was already growing during this period the desire of Italian communists to creatively apply the ideas of Marx-Engels-Lenin to the specific conditions of Italian conditions. A. Gramsci and P. Togliatti provide a theoretical basis and implement a new policy of antifascist unity and active presence of the party in a country under the heel of fascism.

The Italian Communist Party launched a struggle for the masses, debunking the myth of the fall of democratic forces in the country. The party carried out the tactics of a united front, proposing cooperation to all democratic forces that were against fascism.

The 3rd congress, on listening to A. Gramsci's address in which he examined the special features of the situation in the country, defined the motive forces of socialist revolution in Italy and proposed tactics based on the mobilization of all strata of the laboring population of Italy for struggle against the most reactionary circles of the Italian bourgeoisie.

Fascism vainly tried to eliminate the communist party. Mass repressions against communists followed one after another. But up to the fall of the fascist regime, the ICP of all the political parties was the only one to continue the struggle against fascism within the country. The communist press was published regularly under underground conditions. In Turin alone, the communists in 1926 disseminated more than 10,000 copies of their newspaper. In the country, disturbances of workers continued, protests and dissatisfaction of the population grew. The communists marched in the first ranks of fighters against fascism. It is enough to remember that, beginning with the first months of 1927, among 4,671 convicted by fascist special tribunals, 4,030 were communists; of the 28,000 years to which those who were convicted were sentenced to imprisonment, 23,000 years fell to the share of communists.

In the '30s, there was a growth in the international solidarity of Italian communists. The forms of its manifestation were varied, but always with full account being taken of the situation and the possibilities. The Brussels antifascist congress, convoked in 1935 on the initiative of Italian communists and socialists, nailed to the board of shame the attack of fascist Italy on Ethiopia. But the Italian communists condemn fascism not just in words. When necessary, they, without wavering, go to the side of victims of imperialist aggression with weapons in their hands. After the start of fascist Italo-German intervention in Spain, thousands of Italian communists, fulfilling an international duty, went to Spain to fight against fascism. Despite the noise of international reaction, accusing communists of intervention in the internal affairs of Spain, the ICP consistently conducted a policy of providing all-out aid to the Spanish republicans. The Garibaldi brigade, acting as part of the International Brigades, earned for itself on the fields of Spain deserving respect and glory. The Spanish people retain with gratitude to this day the memory of the international aid of Italian communists, socialists and other democrats.

With the beginning of World War II, the ICP increased work among the masses for the purpose of creating the National Front and preparing for the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship. Toward the end of 1942, there was created in Turin the first Committee of National Liberation, around which the antifascist forces of the country united. The ICP served as the chief organizer of strikes and demonstrations, which became especially intensified after the failure of the Italian adventure on the Soviet front. The strength of the ICP within the country was displayed with special clarity on 5 March 1943, when a big strike encompassed Fiat and other industrial enterprises of Turin. More than 100,000 persons took part in this strike. On the territory of Italy, occupied by Hitler's troops following Italy's exit from the war in September 1943, the Italian communists were the organizers and the most active participants of the Resistance Movement, which assumed a national character. One of the chief leaders of this movement was L. Longo. The Resistance Movement served as an important school for the formation of a militant active party, ably combining class interests with national ones; it enriched the party with political experience and strengthened its prestige and influence among the masses. Italian communists themselves justly consider the most important result of their participation in the Resistance Movement to be the attainment of unity by all antifascist forces, a reflection of which was the conclusion of the Pact on Unity of Operations with Socialists (1944) and joint work of all antifascist political currents in the Committees of National Liberation heading the armed struggle against fascism right up to the victorious uprising of 25 April 1945.

After the country's liberation, the ICP undertook a policy of preservation and strengthening of unity among all of the country's democratic forces on an antifascist democratic basis. The Italian Communist Party declared the possibility of a gradual movement toward socialism by a peaceful, democratic route with utilization of wide-scale actions by the masses and a broad policy of unions, including all three components of the laboring people of Italy: communists, socialists and Catholics.

During these years, P. Togliatti put before the party the task of expanding its mass basis. According to his thinking, the party under the new conditions could not be a narrow association of simple propagandists of general ideas of communism. The party, P. Togliatti asserted, must have three basic characteristic traits:

first, it must come out in defense of the country's general national interests; second, its positions must become an important factor in the determination of governmental policy and, finally, it must be a mass people's party. In following this line, the ICP achieved important victories in the postwar time: from the proclamation of a republic at a nationwide referendum on 2 June 1946 to the convocation of the Constituent Assembly and the adoption of a constitution in 1948. Taking part in the government during 1944-1947, the ICP jointly with other leftist forces achieved the implementation of a number of democratic reforms and ensured the possibility of the working class and its allies resting on the democratic gains in the struggle for radical transformations of the social-political system.

The entire postwar period was a time of the ICP's participation in the advance lines of class struggle, defense of the vital interests of laboring people, democracy and social progress. A major contradiction arose in this period, which has not been resolved up to the present time in Italian society--the contradiction between domination of the power of big business and an increase in the role of the popular masses in the country's general national life. The capitalist structure of society is cracking under the pressure of the growing weight of democratic social, trade-union and political organization of laboring people; the bourgeoisie undertakes complex maneuvers and governmental combinations for the purpose of balancing the influence of leftist forces on the course of social development in Italy. Under these conditions, communists make the demand of ICP's participation in a government of national solidarity with the participation of all democratic antifascist forces, that is, in other words, attempts at an emergence from the above-mentioned contradiction are being made in the way of still bigger exacerbation (it is enough to remember the Chile experience). THE ICP program provides in this connection for the implementation of a number of measures relating to the realization of democratic changes in the country aimed at replacement of the capitalist system with a socialist one.

Such measures include democratic programming of the economy, implementation of agrarian reform, democratization of educational institutions, reformation of the court apparatus, introduction of a single state system of medical services and social security, giving real rights to local organs of government and so on. These measures have as their aim limitation of the power of big business and movement closer to the building of a socialist society. The directions of a more distant perspective were outlined less precisely in the ICP Program. The proposed decisions sometime display a character of compromise with existing reality.

Under the conditions of intensified class struggle in the world arena and growing differentation of intermediate forces, discussions arose in the ICP which actually threw the shadow of doubt on its traditional proletarian, internationalist orientation, which found its expression in the offering of a slogan of so-called "new internationalism," in contradictory search for an "intermediate place of the ICP in a world divided into blocs, in special positions in regard to a number of acute problems of contemporaneity.

In foreign policy, the ICP demands that Italy maintain an independent course aimed at realization of measures relating to relaxation of international tension and strengthening of peace. The ICP is against the plans of the United States and NATO to locate on the territory of Western Europe new nuclear-missile weapons. At the same time, partly because of the specific character of the internal situation in the

country, the speeches of certain Italian comrades indicate a desire to occupy an "intermediate" position in regard to the question of relations to NATO and its politics and to avoid a clear characterization of this aggressive organization.

International reaction strives to use all these special features of the ICP's position to put it into opposition with other fraternal communist parties. Such rebuffs are rebuffed by the Italian communists themselves. Answering those who, analyzing the positions of the ICP on international questions, look for signs of a split in the communist movement, General Secretary of the ICP E. Berlinguer emphasized that "they understand the independence of the ICP only as a break with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. This is an unacceptable theory. It is absurd to demand of us to cut our own roots, to give up our ties with the October Revolution, with the achievements and ideas of Lenin from whence the Italian working class received the impulse for the creation and building of its own revolutionary party."[3]

The party will celebrate its coming jubilee in an atmosphere of growing class struggle setting before the party entirely new and more complex tasks.

From the first days of the rise of the Italian Communist Party, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and all the Soviet people have displayed international solidarity with Italian communists, with all the laboring people of Italy. These relations of solidarity were emphasized with special force in the course of the meeting between L.I. Brezhnev and E. Berlinguer held in September 1979. "Comrades L.I. Brezhnev and E. Berlinguer," it was stated in a joint communique, "believe that the strengthening of peace and peaceful cooperation between the states of Europe depends to a considerable degree on communist and workers parties, on all democratic organizations and on their actions and initiatives."[4]

FOOTNOTES

1. Quoted from: "Sil'neye smerti" [Stronger Than Death]. Moscow, 1967, pp 251-252.

2. A. Gramsci, "Izbrannyye proizvedeniya" [Selected Works], Vol 1. Moscow, 1957, pp 97-98.

3. PRAVDA, 4 April 1979.

4. PRAVDA, 6 September 1979.

COPYRIGHT: Izdatel'stvo "Pravda", "Voprosy istorii KPSS", 1981

7697
CSO: 1807

DEVELOPMENT, ROLE OF ISLAM IN SOUTHEAST ASIA STUDIED

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 2, Feb 81 (signed to press 23 Jan 81) pp 57-60

[Article by A. Ionova, candidate of historical sciences: "Modern Islam: Sectantism as a Form of Social Protest"]

[Text] Using the example of a number of countries of Southeast Asia, we analyzed political movements whose religious front was a form of protest on the part of Moslem lower classes against the existing social system, but the participants did not depart from the officially recognized canons of Islam.[1] We shall now discuss the sectarian variety of these statements which have developed mainly along the line of Sunnism.

As was already noted, the orthodox Islam movements arose mainly in those states of the region where Muslims were a religious-ethnic or else an ethnic minority. Their interrelations with their compatriots were complicated by the consequences of the colonial policy of "divide and conquer," the lack of a solution to the national problem, and frequently also economic problems, particularly the critical agrarian issue. Political actions took the form of sectarian ferment in places where there was an especially large amount of friction between the exploiting upper classes and the exploited lower classes within the Muslim community itself. All these statements of social protest were nourished by hopes for the return of the "golden age," "the good old days" of general well being and justice, the idealization of patriarchal-communal supports, and hope for the restoration of "true dogma." But if the participants in the orthodox Islam movements were guided by dogmas that were common to all, the sectarians were oriented toward various religious and cultural and value-assigning positions.

In all cases, however, the role of the movement's leader was great. Explaining the reasons for such a situation, the eminent Indonesian scholar, Sartono Kartodirdzho, emphasized that because of the lack of development or the weakness of a civic awareness of the part of the exploited masses, they came to prefer "familial, ethnic and other similar ties."[2] In this situation the charismatic elite which relied on these ties typically used traditional authoritarian methods of leadership, mainly symbolical slogan methods of agitation and propaganda. In the orthodox type of movements the times of the prophet Mohammed and his followers were idealized; in sectarianism, along with its attempts to restore early Islam norms, one found a restoration of the practice of the medieval mystical "brotherhoods"--[tarekates], and also the deification of newly discovered messiahs, the rendering of princely honors to them and so forth.

But on the whole the sectarian opposition of power to the owners and the "injustice to the creators" manifested itself less actively in the political struggle than the orthodox Islam movement of social protest did. The esoteric nature of the majority of sects manifested itself in the fact that the byword for dissociation from the evils and vices of this world directed them primarily towards the formation of a closed community of "true believers." The lack of internal cohesion of sectarian actions and the fact that each of the leaders claimed the role of God's chosen one also had an effect. Finally, these statements inherently involved magic, occultism and so forth to a much greater degree than did the orthodox Islam. As a result the sectarians most frequently ended up in the position of passive rejection of the "injustice" that exists in society. If they did participate actively in the political struggle, as a rule, it was on the initiative or with the mediation of individual partisan groupings.

After the end of World War II Indonesia was ahead of other countries of Southeast Asia not only in terms of size, but also in terms of the rates of activization of the Muslim-sectarian movement. It was precisely on this basis that the number of sects in the country grew. According to quite incomplete official statements, in 1945-52 alone 29 new religious schools and cults appeared in western Java. By the middle of the 1950's their number had decreased to 22, but it had reached 63 in all of Java (including 35 in the central part and 6 in eastern Java). By the beginning of the 1960's it was established that there were about 100 eastern Javanese sects and more than 400 in Indonesia as a whole.

In Malaya (Malaysia) and Singapore both transformed variants of Indonesian doctrines and independently created "false" ones (according to official terminology) became widespread. A typical feature of this process is a certain interconnection between the regular concrete rise of sectantism on the one hand, and increased economic difficulties and exacerbation of social friction and political tension, on the other.

In the more backward regions of Indonesia, Malaya (Malaysia) and at times in Singapore there appeared sects whose social base was the peasant-plebian lower classes who were thrown by the force of circumstances onto the border between two epochs--the downfall of precapitalist and the establishment of bourgeois foundations.

But some of the sects whose participants and leaders thought in categories of an exclusively medieval world view still retained positions of alienation from the "unjust world" and complete isolation from all stable social protest movements. Such isolation still did not exclude rejection of the existing social system even when it would seem that the sectarians were engaged in purely religious pursuits.

The specific nature of the peasant awareness in its archaic forms consisted in that it reflected that stage of social evolution when "there frequently was no separation of economic, administration-organizational and ritual ties."[3] Under these conditions even the smallest changes in the sphere of spiritual life had an obvious social significance. For within the framework of this archaic belief "the perception of an object in the unity of its actual and mythical content coincided with its interpretation in the unity of concrete and symbolical significances."[4] In particular there was a certain interconnection between the intention to resist the capitalist repression of the traditions of patriarchal-communal mutual assistance, on the one hand,

and to resurrect individual cults of the distant past, including pre-Muslim on the other.

But the most numerous and relatively stable sectarian associations turned out to be those where the departure from officially recognized prescriptions of Islam were combined with utilitarian concerns, where, as one of the Soviet scholars correctly noted, "religious views of reality and relations with supernatural and other-wordly phenomena acquired a completely practical nature."[5]

In the eyes of the lower classes with traditional ideas in the cities and villages the very practice of "fraternal" mutual assistance was especially attractive, not to mention attempts at liberation, for example, from the need to make the costly pilgrimage to Mecca, from the extortion of the part of Muslim spiritual officials for the performance of religious rites and protection from discriminatory actions involving people who are known for their "leftist" views or simply unscrupulous officials.

In the 1960's and 1970's in the Malayian village of Serpok (the state of Pinang) the "Taslim" ("obedience to God") sect originated and acquired quite a few adherents among the peasants. Its sources go back as far as the 12th century. The head of the sect, Khadzi Akhmad Matakhari, made decisions regarding property and familial affairs and declared it illegal for cadi, imam and other Muslim spiritual figures to participate in wedding, divorce and burial ceremonies and so forth. Akhmad Matakhari asserted that he was a deputy of the prophet Mohammed and that he had repeatedly experienced "mikradzh"--ascent to heaven. Members of "Taslim" did not consider it necessary to pray five times every day, thinking it adequate to pray five times a year. They fasted only nine days instead of a month and instead of a pilgrimage to Mecca they preferred a pilgrimage to the "holy hills" right in Pinang.

Certain sects proclaimed their intention to cure humanity of existing vices and diseases, of all social evils. On the eve of the 1950's and 1960's the idea of this kind of therapy was preached by one of the residents of the western Javanese village of Choblon. First he subjected his followers to "physical purification" by means of a high voltage current and then he set them on the path to moral perfection and piety with the help of the Koran and also instructive examples from the ancient Indian epic Ramayana, which was extremely popular among Indonesians. At the beginning of the 1960's in western Java there appeared the Khakmalaiyya sect whose members saw as their goal to fight against the "sinfulness" of this world by eliminating their own vices. In order to enter this sect it was necessary to abstain from certain kinds of food each day. The sectarians attached great significance to the ritual of bathing in water in which flowers of seven colors had been steeped and then wrapping the body in a shroud. The founder of Khakmalaiyya, being born a peasant, dressed like a Javanese rajah, but his teachings were based exclusively on the Koran and the [Khadisy]--legends about the prophet Mohammed.

In the 1960's and 1970's Sahid Mohammed Al-Mashor acquired quite a few followers among Malayans among rural residents of the state of Malacca and also residents of Kuala Lumpur and Singapore. Not satisfied with the lot of a wandering Muslim mentor, he declared himself to be an emissary of Allah who had the latest word of God's truth. Sahid Mohammed Al-Mashor said that the prophet Mohammed was his predecessor and, moreover, that the Koran was not complete "correct" since God's final revelation was not printed there. Calling himself a "teacher," the new emissary called

upon his followers to live as brothers, rendering assistance to one another, but not associate with the other compatriots, not to make any requests to the imams or cadis and not to arrange burials according to the Muslim custom. The ritual for entering the sect, the majority of whose members were peasants and people from the urban lower classes, was simple: it was enough to drink water from the hands of Sahid Mohammed Al-Mashor himself.

Those who believed in Makhdi or the Rata adil ("just prince") caused an especially large amount of uneasiness for the authorities and Muslim elite by celebrating "true faith," social justice and the spirit of mutual assistance. Being one of the oldest messianic doctrines in Islam, Makhdism had many proponents in Indonesia (in the 1950's and the beginning of the 1960's) and in individual Malayan (Malasian) states (from the middle of the 1950's through the 1970's).

In 1953 the Imam Makndi sect began to operate in a rural district near the city of Macansar (Southern Sulawesi). The Makhdites wore white clothing that recalled the attire of pilgrims making their journey. The founder of this sect, Sheik Mohammed Bafagikh, however, wore a military uniform. But he intended to found the "state of Islam" by peaceful means, relying on the piety and righteous way of life of the follower of Imam Makhdi and hoping that other Muslims would follow this example. In the middle of the 1950's the Makhdites united around terekat Mufarridiyya ("departed from the world"), who operated initially in Northern Sumatra (the districts of Tandzhung-Pura and Langkat). The terecate was headed by Sheik Makmun. In his words, he was the Imam Makhdi for Muslims, Jesus Christ for Christians and "father" for all other believers.

In the 1960's and 1970's offshoots of Mufarridivya appeared in Malaysia where, like in Indonesia, they immediately became the object of government oppression.

There have been repeated Makhdi uprisings in Western Java during the past three decades. The largest involved the sect "Knidul imam Makhdi" ("life of imam Makhdi"). During the middle of the 1950's 3,000 peasants from eastern Priangan and the environs of the city of Bandung, followed it. The sect was founded as early as 1949 by M. Akhdi. Coming from the village of Lingadzhay, he once engaged in peasant labor, then worked in an automotive repair shop, and finally became the religious mentor--K'yay. M. Akhdi was illiterate but he was well versed in folklore and folk beliefs which were widespread among the Sudanese farmers. The proponents of the teachings of the "life of imam Makhdi" developed a charter and a program, guided by the principles of "humanism and belief in an almighty God." The sect saw its main task to be to strengthen its spirit on the basis of mutual assistance, honor and readiness to exert all efforts in the name of transforming the Indonesian state in keeping with Makhdite teachings. There was a ceremony for admitting new members into the sect--"Tavadzhukh." It consisted of ritual bathing of water that had been blessed with sayings from the Koran which were written, however, not in Arabic, but in the Sudanese language. All members of the "brotherhood": one--for earth, the other--for the "final life." Moreover not all of them always adhered to the cultic prescriptions of Islam. It was thought that each believer was responsible for himself to God, including for performance of his religious duty, and for some sectarians the highest authority was the prophet Mohammed while for others it was Abraham and for still others it was Jacob who was regarded as an emissary of Allah.

By the time of the reign of Dutch colonialism in Indonesia sources of the teaching of Ratu adil arose and during that period it was frequently the banner not only for the antifeudal, but also for the anticolonial struggle.

Those were awaiting the arrival of the "just prince" were joined in 1952 by believers in the teachings of "Nabi akhir zaman" ("prophet of the times of the end of the world"). Most of them lived in the Javanese district of Dzhember.

Moreover, beginning in the 1950's in Indonesia and in the 1960's in Malaysia and Singapore, there were more and more frequent instances where the leadership of the sects, whose mass base was the peasant-plebian lower classes, was taken over by members of the petty bourgeois and even the bourgeois classes. The new leadership changed little in the forms of organization and mass agitation, paying tribute to stereotypes of additional patriarchal idylls. But under the cover of the old surface there was an essential reorientation toward rejecting medieval particularistic tenets. The departure from these tenets was most significant in those sects where there was an increased number of people who one way or another came in contact with or had already been firmly drawn into the system of capitalistic production. The results of all these changes were not long in appearing: the sectarian statements more and more frequently followed the current of political movements that were modern in their problematic which, as a rule, was a result of the corresponding initiative of individual parties. In some cases leftist forces acquired an additional reserve, in others rightest forces did and in still others it went to leaders of various kinds of intermediate groupings. The sectarian movement was "unsealed" on the largest scale in Indonesia.

At the beginning of the 1950's, for example, relying on bourgeois land-owning reactionary forces, Darul' Islam bands headed by Kartosuvir'o took advantage of the support of adherents of the teachings of "Islam putikh" ("white Islam"). This was a sect of the Makhdi type headed by representatives of the Western Javanese wealthy merchant class. A number of sectarian associations cooperated with radical nationalists of the petty bourgeois persuasion, members of the National Party of Indonesia and Partindo. The most active of these groupings were "Agama islam sedzhati Republik Indonesia" ("the true Muslim religion of the Republic of Indonesia"), and also the "Agam Dzhava asli Republic Indonesia" ("the Javanese religion of the Republic of Indonesia") and "Sapto darmo" ("seven duties").

The first sect was founded in 1950 by the civil servant Suarso Khadikusumo in Cheribon (Western Java). Most of its members were bureaucrats and merchants, artisans and semi-proletarian elements. The proletarians held positions that were hostile to the Muslim elite and learned men and they considered true Islam to be the faith preached by the first Javanese missionary--Vali. The Vali cult, including bowing to their graves, was based on quotations from the Koran and references to the Hadith.

A second sect was founded by the religious mentor Somovikoro. The majority of his followers were the poor masses of the city of Solo and the surrounding villages. Somovikoro preached that the country's president, Sukarno, was sent by God in order to free Indonesia and to achieve the triumph of the principles of gotong-royong (traditional communal mutual assistance). Members of the sect recognized the general state in ideology--the principles of "Pancha sila," but refrained from any communication from any Muslim spiritual leaders. The sectarians performed their own marriage ceremonies, paying about one-tenth the official amount for this.

By the beginning of the 1960's a third sect had more than 10,000 followers in Southern Sumatra. They were mainly Javanese colonists who were minor servants, merchants and agricultural workers. The head of the sect, Susmiarto, had been an officer in the past. His teachings were based on the advocacy of seven duties: belief in the principles of "Pancha sila" which were sanctified by Allah, participation in the development of the Indonesian state and society, selfless and prompt assistance to needy compatriots, observance of state laws, support of belief in one's own worth, self-education in the spirit of "high morality," and understanding that the will of the Almightly did not predetermine an unchanging world, for it is always in a state of change.

In the "Sapto darmo" rituals importance place was alloted to color symbolism which reflected the influence of traditional Javanese mythology, distorted by the latest developments. Esteemed above the rest was the color yellow, the symbol of power, honor and eternal equilibrium. The color white was considered to be a symbol of peace and happiness, red--one which incites evil passions to the detriment of circumspection and rational activity, and black--a color that rose up as a barrier on the path to good works, an obstacle to the triumph of good.

Throughout the 1950's and 1960's some of the sects supported the Communist Party of Indonesia from time to time. After the events of 30 September 1965 some of them came under the fire of anticommunist repression, particularly adherents of "Agama Pancha sila" ("the religion of Pancha sila"), "Islam agama khak" ("the true Muslim religion") in Java, "Agama Allah" ("the religion of Allah") in Northern Sumatra, and also followers of the Eastern Javanese Mba Suro.

Thus the Muslim sectarian opposition to the existing social structure as a whole was not internally homogeneous. Those associations which gave rise to social protest from the traditional peasant-plebian lower classes continued to hold medieval esoteric positions. But with time the entire sectarian movement began to be dominated by groupings that had abandoned the condition of isolation and were drawn into a modern type of political struggle since their members were included one way or another in the sphere of capitalist production and bourgeois relations. The scope and degree of this "movement outside" into the current of various party groupings were determined to considerable degree by the breadth of the range of political sympathies of individual leaders and rank-and-file members of the sects. In this case one can not forget about the influence exerted by religion on the social psychology of believers who are oppressed by capitalism. The awareness of the masses is invested not only with conformist attitudes and ideas of class cooperation of co-believers but also by the desire to put an end to the hated oppression as well as those who sanctify it in the name of God. Once again one finds confirmation of the statement of K. Marx: "religious impoverishment is at the same time an expression of actual impoverishment and protest against this actual impoverishment."[6]

A number of research works[7] have already discussed how far sectarian activity is from an adequate interpretation of the actual state of affairs. The degree of this distance is determined by the degree of misunderstanding of who the main real enemy is. Hence they attempt to arm themselves with ideals of the distant past, belief in miracles, in magic means of improving the world, more frequently passive than active opposition to social injustice. The force of social protest is weakened by the diversion of sects, their isolation from one another and, the main thing, from

the center of the political struggle in the country. Sometimes the voice of opposition is drowned out under the oppression of mysticism and fanaticism, and frequently because of the ambitious and self-seeking intrigues of individual leaders.

Still the overall evaluation of sectarianism, charged by the disatisfaction of believers with existing social policies, where exploiters live at the expense of the exploited, will be incomplete if one does not keep in mind the tasks involved in the struggle of communists and all progressive forces of the East in support of the masses. A mandatory condition for the success of this struggle is the enlistment of the working classes of believers in the movement for the realization of the people's ideals of social justice which have been formed on a truly scientific basis.

And at the present time Leninist evaluations of a number of sects that were active in prerevolutionary Russia are vitally important for developing countries. As V. I. Lenin wrote, "the appearance of political protest under the guise of religion is a phenomenon that is inherent in all nations at a certain stage in their development."[8] Speaking about the existence of revolutionary elements in the peasantry, V. I. Lenin asked us not to forget that the peasantry is politically undeveloped and benighted, not to forget 'the mass of means the government has to politically swindle and corrupt the peasantry.'"[9] The task of progressive forces in the modern stage consists in comprehensively supporting and developing the revolutionary potential of the peasantry and other working segments by inciting them fight against all kinds of enslavement, including against spiritual oppression.

FOOTNOTES

1. See A. Ionova, "Muslim Social Protest Movements," AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA, No 10, 1979.

2. Sartono Kartodirdjo, Gerakan protest dan ketidakpuasan dalam masyarakat tradisionil, PRISMA, Jakarta, 1977, No 1, hal. 44.

3. Zh. D. Smirenskaya, "Krest'yanst[illegible] v stranakh Azii: obshchestbennoye soznaniye i obshchestvennaya bor'ba" [The Peasantry in Asian Countries: Social Awareness and Social Struggle], Moscow, 1979, p 6.

4. V. Iordanskiy, "Tropical Africa: The Archaic Awareness and Structure of its Collective Concepts," NARODY AZII I AFRIKI, No 2, 1980, p 81.

5. A. Gordon, "The Perception of the World in the Traditional Peasant Awareness," AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA, No 3, 1980, p 36.

6. K. Marx and F. Engels, Soch. [Works], Vol 1, p 415.

7. See regarding Indonesia the aforementioned work of Sartono Kartodirdjo.

8. V. I. Lenin. Poln. sobr. soch., [Collected Works], Vol 4, p 228.

9. Ibid., p 229.

COPYRIGHT: "Aziya i Afrika segodnya", 1981. Glavnaya redaktsiya vostochnoy literatury izdatel'stva "Nauka".

11772
CSO: 1807/77

'SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA' DEPLORES DELAYS IN DEVELOPING NON-CHERNOZEM ZONE

Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 23 Jan 81 p 1

[Article: "For Workers in the Non-Chernozem Zone"]

[Text] The Eleventh Five-Year Plan has confronted the workers in the non-chernozem zone with complicated and important tasks. The implementation of an all-round program aimed at converting this zone of the Russian Federation into a region of highly productive farming and animal husbandry and the development of those branches of industry associated with them will be continued in an active manner. The successful realization of the measures outlined will be dependent to a great degree upon the work of the construction organizations. During the 1981-1985 period, the volumes of capital investments here will increase noticeably and the geography of installations erected will be extended in scope.

High goals have been established. Indeed, the forces available to the contractual departments are not the same as those of 5 years ago. A strong rural construction industry has been formed. In the autonomous republics and oblasts, a logistical base has for the most part already been created for the land reclamation organizations. Seventy new plants and combines have been placed in operation and are now furnishing products and supplying various sets of structures. The ministries, departments and oblast organizations have accumulated a considerable amount of experience in conducting operations in the non-chernozem zone. And finally, construction and installation collectives have been formed. In short, the work can now be carried out in a confident manner and on a large scale basis.

Work is continuing today in each oblast and autonomous republic in the zone aimed at strengthening the production base for agriculture. Great plans are being made for land reclamation operations and for the erection of new animal husbandry complexes, poultry factories, farms and other agricultural enterprises. At the same time, the work has been complicated in recent years by the fact that allied branches have fallen behind. The placing in operation of some processing enterprises of Mintekstil'prom [Ministry of the Textile Industry] and the RSFSR Minpishcheprom [Ministry of the Food Industry] is being delayed. The situation which has been created at the Yefremov Chemical Plant is arousing serious concern. Its construction began in 1973 and its initial capabilities should already be producing output. However, less than one half of the work approved in the plan was fulfilled during the past five-year plan. The departments responsible for erecting the plant, particularly Minkhimprom [Ministry of the Chemical Industry] and Minpromstroy

[Ministry of Industrial Construction], should be reminded once again that this is still the only new construction enterprise in the region for the production of mineral fertilizers and thus the future harvests in the non-chernozem zone will be directly dependent upon the successes achieved at its initial installations.

A portion of the capital investments allocated for a number of other production capabilities remains unused. There are many reasons for this. Miscalculations were tolerated when organizing operations in the various areas and executive discipline was violated by the ministries and departments. The party and soviet organs in the oblasts and autonomous republics did not always display the proper degree of exactingness.

But the work is being held back in particular by the lag that has developed in the infrastructure and by the continuing disruptions in the rates for erecting the production and social installations. It is precisely this disproportion that must be eliminated.

In the plan for Basic Directions, it is emphasized that the construction of housing, highways and installations of a social and communal-domestic nature must be carried out at high rates. It is planned to allocate 1.7 times more resources for these purposes during the Eleventh Five-Year Plan than was made available during the past one. Thus the proportion of non-productive construction will reach 23 percent of the overall volume, compared to 16-17 percent earlier. The placing in operation of new housing units will be increased by a factor of 1.5.

In all of the plans and estimates, when distributing funds and material resources, priority must be given to the erection of homes, clubs, kindergartens, schools and hospitals -- this is the principal conclusion that must be drawn by those ministries and departments performing work in the non-chernozem zone and by the party and soviet leaders in the oblasts and autonomous republics. First of all -- there must be concern shown for the individual. Experience constantly confirms the correctness of this position. Thus, last year alone, the Kolkhoz imeni Lenin in Novomoskovskiy Rayon in Tul'skaya Oblast received approximately 100 letters containing requests for acceptance. Conditions are skillfully created here for attracting and thereafter holding onto the personnel: an entire settlement of modern and comfortable homes sprang up on the farm during the Tenth Five-Year Plan. This represents a reliable roof over one's head and it serves to attract many families to the land and to stimulate interest in working on it. In such an atmosphere, the entire collective performs in a more confident manner, discipline is stronger and the labor indicators higher.

The base for housing construction in the rural areas warrants special mention. The capabilities of combines which are already in operation are by no means being employed adequately -- often by only 60-70 percent. There are enterprises which operate on a single shift basis. But the problem is not simply one of regulating their activities. A situation must be achieved wherein, in addition to producing the homes, they also erect them themselves, as is being done by related enterprises in the cities. The problem of creating a construction conveyer line is still dependent upon the so-called zero cycle work: organizations are still not available in the rural areas responsible for creating the engineering networks -- water lines, sewerage, heating lines and so forth. Thus the conversion of rural housing

construction over to an industrial base and the erection of homes having modern conveniences is complicated. Unless a solution is found for this problem, it will be difficult to implement an all-round building program in the rural areas.

Serious attention is given to road construction in the CC CPSU plan. Practically all of the production activities of kolkhozes and sovkhozes are dependent upon the roads. In addition, this is a critical social problem. Sociological studies carried out in a number of oblasts in the non-chernozem zone have underscored the unreliability of communications -- one of the chief reasons for migration from the rural areas. It is by no means an accident that villages which are located in "remote' areas, at considerable distances from roads, are losing more and more residents.

The scales and rates for road construction are lagging seriously behind the changes which are taking place today in the non-chernozem zone. It is sufficient to state that 2,600 central farmsteads of kolkhozes and sovkhozes and 90 rayon centers do not have smaller roads leading to highways. The condition of almost one half of the rural roads is clearly unsatisfactory. This holds true in particular for those which are not asphalted. During the harvest periods, when there is a sharp increase in the movement of machines, such roads deteriorate rapidly. During construction, deviations are often tolerated from the plans and norms and, as a result, the routes do not hold up for the established inter-repair periods and require considerable expenditures for reconstruction after just 2-4 years of operation. Such a situation is typical for Bryanskaya, Kostromskaya, Kirovskaya and some other oblasts.

Thousands of kilometers of new highway surface must be laid down during the Eleventh Five-Year Plan. This requires that the road construction organizations by supplied with highly productive machines and crushing equipment. Special importance is being attached to concentrating efforts and resources on the creation of completed road networks. An efficient determination must be made in each oblast regarding the order of priority for the installation of roads and for developing a general plan for interfarm and intrafarm highways and a system of motor transport communications in the rural areas.

The initial weeks of the new five-year plan have already been ticked off on the calendar. The builders have commenced carrying out the program established for this year. And it would seem only right to expect them to display a high level of organization today and to perform their important work in an efficient manner. Dozens of new agricultural installations must be placed in operation in the non-chernozem zone this year. This includes such large enterprises as the poultry factories Tsentral'naya (Vladimirskaya Oblast), Tul'skaya and Cheboksarskaya, the hog raising complexes Vologodskiy, Permskiy and Vyksunskiy (Gor'kovskaya Oblast and the hothouse combines Prigorodnyy (Kostromskaya Oblast), Raduga (Leningrad Oblast and Saburovskiy (Orlovskaya Oblast).

However, the work is proceeding slowly. Up until now, the contracting organizations were not aware of the accurate volume of impending work and the final list of completed installations had not been determined. The construction program approved back in October of last year has turned out to be of low quality. Gosplan for the USSR and the RSFSR have not succeeded in coordinating the needs of the clients with the potential of the contracting organizations or with the deliveries of materials and equipment. Miscalculations during the preparation of plans have been tolerated

by the Bryanskiy, Pskovskiy and a number of other executive committees. Today they are insisting on reducing the start-up program and decreasing the volumes of construction-installation work.

At the moment, work is at a feverish pitch in the offices and at the construction projects -- a calm has settled in. Thus, all measures must be undertaken at the present time aimed at accelerating the schedules for "finishing off" the plan, the contractual campaign must be completed in an efficient manner and the final tasks must be presented to those organizations carrying out construction operations in the non-chernozem zone. Vacillating operations at the start of the year must be eliminated decisively.

The Eleventh Five-Year Plan will become a new and important stage in carrying out the long-term program for developing this large agricultural region. All those involved in this work must be imbued with a high sense of responsibility for it. The economic leaders and the party and soviet organizations must ensure that a high work tempo is followed each day at the construction sites and they must launch an extensive socialist competition in the collectives for the successful fulfillment of the assigned tasks.

7026
CSO: 1800/319

LITHUANIAN DECREE CREATING NEW KOLKHOZ CENTERS, ENLARGING PRIVATE PLOTS

Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 24 Jan 61 p 1

[Article: "On the Formation of Central Settlements of Farms in Some Cities and Settlements of the Municipal Type and on a Partial Change in the Status of Private Construction"]

[Text] Not counting the rayon centers, the republic has 65 cities of rayon subordination and settlements of the municipal type. A considerable number of them are small towns. Taking into account the prospects for their development and their geographic locations with regard to the farm territories, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania and the Council of Ministers of the Lithuanian SSR adopted a decree on the formation of rural central settlements of kolkhozes, sovkhozes and other state farms, in these cities of rayon subordination and settlements of the municipal type: Atzhalinas Kolkhoz, Anikshchyayskiy Rayon -- in Kavarskas, Kolkhoz imeni K. Shtaras and Aukshtakal'nis Kolkhoz in this same rayon -- in Troshkunay, Babal'ninkskiy Sovkhoz-Technical School, Birzhayskiy Rayon -- in Babal'ninkas, Pabirzhe Kolkhoz in this same rayon -- in Likenay, Smalininkay Sovkhoz-Technical School, Yurbarkskiy Rayon -- in Smalininkay, horticultural Kayshyadoris Sovkhoz, Kayshyadorskiy Rayon -- in Uzhventis , Kolkhoz imeni M. Mel'nikayte, Kedaynskiy Rayon -- in Dotnuva, Uzhventis Sovkhoz, Kel'meskiy Rayon -- in Uzhventis, Prekule Poultry Raising Sovkhoz imeni 50-Letiya SSSR, Klaypedskiy Rayon -- in Prekule, Shvesa Kolkhoz in Kupishkskiy Rayon -- in Subachyus, Geguzhes Pirmoyi Kolkhoz, Lazdiyskiy Rayon -- in Veyseyay, Kolkhoz imeni S. Neris, Mazheykskiy Rayon -- in Seda, Nyamunas and imeni V.I. Lenin Kolkhozes, Pakruoyskiy Rayon -- in Linkuva, Ramigala Kolkhoz, Panevezhskiy Rayon -- in Ramigala, Kolkhoz imeni M. Mel'nikayte in this same rayon -- in Nauyamestis, an experimental farm of the Ionishkelis Experimental Station, Pasval'skiy Rayon -- in Ionishkelis, Kolkhoz imeni Kalinin, Prenayskiy Rayon -- in Bal'berishkis, Verkiye Kolkhoz in this same rayon -- in Yeznas, Obyalyay Sovkhoz, Rokishkskiy Rayon -- in Obyalyay, Didisis Spalis Kolkhoz, Shakyayskiy Rayon -- in Gelgaudishkis, Rusne Fishing Farm, Shilutskiy Rayon -- in Rusne, Shemaychyu-Naumestis Sovkhoz in this same rayon -- in Zhemaychyu-Naumestis, Rudishkes Sovkhoz, Trakayskiy Rayon -- in Rudishkes, Kolkhoz imeni Yu. Yanonis, Vilkavishkskiy Rayon -- in Virbalis, Lenino Atminimas Kolkhoz, Zarasayskiy Rayon -- in Turmantas.

At the same time, the State Committee for Construction Affairs and the Ministry of Agriculture were tasked with defining more precisely the planning and building projects for the mentioned cities and settlements, as a single economic and social complex.

The executive committees of the respective rayons are obligated to allocate budgetary appropriations for civic improvements in these cities and to organize cooperation in the use of resources among the enterprises, organizations and farms located in these cities, for the construction and equipping of cultural, educational and consumer services installations for the population, a water main, water intakes, sewerage networks and installations and other facilities of general use.

The Council of Ministers of the Lithuanian SSR, in the interest of improving living conditions and expanding the opportunities for citizens to develop their private plots, introduced some changes into the statute which regulates private construction in rural settlements, cities of rayon subordination and settlements of the municipal type.

These changes authorize considerably larger tracts of land to be made available to individual dwellings. Whereas earlier, when individuals at kolkhozes, sovkhozes and other state farms were building their own homes in settlements and were provided with a tract of land measuring 0.15 hectares, today permission has been granted to allot up to 0.25 hectares of land for such private construction. With regard to the construction of double-apartment buildings, 25 ares [translator's note: an are is equivalent to 100 square meters] are allocated to each family. Similarly, the residents of multi-apartment row homes are allocated an area of up to 15 ares per family. These conditions apply to private homes that are under construction in those settlements of the municipal type and cities of rayon subordination where farm centers are being formed. However, the size of the private plot for a home being built on the territory of a settlement must not exceed the maximum private plot size established for the particular category of land users.

Thus, opportunities are being created for achieving more convenient arrangements for private farm facilities -- cattle shed, barn, summer kitchen, garage -- and for establishing larger gardens and orchards.

In connection with the increase in the private plot areas, the State Committee for Construction Affairs and the Ministry of Agriculture are tasked with defining more precisely the plans for future rural settlements.

In other cities of rayon subordination and settlements of the municipal type (with the exception of rayon centers), tracts of land up to 0.15 hectares in size are being allocated for private construction.

The changes introduced into the statute also authorize the construction of larger homes. Whereas earlier the maximum permissible area for one individual builder could not exceed 100 square meters (60 square meters of living space and 40 square meters of usable non-living space), today private homes can be built having up to 130 square meters of overall usable space, including up to 90 square meters of living space.

7026
CSO: 1800

NEW INSTITUTE OF PHILOSOPHY AND LAW IN LATVIA

Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 13 Jan 81 p 3

[Text] From research on the structure of socialist society and studying social problems of ecology to criticism of bourgeois ideology -- this is the range of activity of the Institute of Philosophy and Law which has been opened in the Latvian SSR Academy of Sciences. This center of philosophical thought is the 70th Academy institution. Along with carrying out a broad scientific program, its collective will henceforward be coordinating the work of all republic philosophers, sociologists and lawyers.

In a conversation with a LATINFORMA correspondent, Latvian SSR Academy of Sciences Social Sciences Department Academician Secretary V. A. Shteynberg said, "The research directions of the new institute correspond fully to the tasks put before the social sciences in the CPSU Central Committee draft for the 26th Party Congress. In particular, our scientists will work out pressing problems of dialectic and historical materialism, paying a great deal of attention to using Marxist-Leninist philosophy as the methodological basis of the social, natural and technical branches of knowledge.

It should be noted that the scientific center being created here will be faced with making a real contribution to carrying out the assignments of the 11th Five-Year Plan. Thus, research on the social structure of a society of developed socialism in Latvia will help manage labor resources and intelligently distribute productive forces. The social regulation of attitudes towards the environment in various areas of economic and cultural activity will also be very important. A scientific work, "Sovremennaya ekologicheskaya situatsiya. O nekotorykh filosofsko-pravovykh problemakh" [The Present Ecological Situation. Several Philosophical and Legal Problems], has already been published in the republic. Now in development is a monograph, "Sotsial'nyye aspekty okhrany prirody" [Social Aspects of Environmental Protection]. The institute's scientific staff will also be resolving so-called "boundary" questions of philosophy and psychology relating to vocational training and all-around development of human capabilities.

We have anticipated continued thorough study of the spiritual and cultural legacy of the Latvian people, its historical ties with the Russian and other peoples of the Nation of Soviets, and at the same time, the new scientific collective is called upon to continue criticizing the concepts of bourgeois nationalism, unmask the falsifiers of Marxist-Leninist science and wage an active ideological struggle against reactionary emigration.

11052
CSO: 1800/271

NEED FOR PENSIONERS IN LATVIAN LABOR FORCE

Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 6 Dec 80 p 2

[Article by pensioner M. Khimich: "To Be In Action"]

[Text] When you read closely the lines of the CPSU Central Committee draft "Basic Directions of USSR Economic and Social Development in 1981-1985 and Through 1989," your attention is involuntarily called to the fact that literally all sections of this document are aimed at carrying out the primary task of the 11th Five-Year Plan, ensuring continued growth in the well-being of the Soviet people. What state in the world can offer a better example of concern for people than our Soviet state?! This concern is evident in each line of the CPSU Central Committee draft, which determines precise prospects for developing economic and social life for the whole decade ahead.

In the life of a state, as in that of each person, many difficulties and complicated problems are encountered. This generation knows what unemployment is only from the stories of people of the older generation and from books. Soviet society has eliminated it forever. Today, we are agitated by an entirely different problem, the manpower shortage. But there is a way out of this complex situation, and it is pointed out in the CPSU Central Committee draft which, in particular, proposes that we: "Expand opportunities for pensioners to participate in social labor. Improve the forms of material encouragement of the work of able-bodied pensioners."

I worked in one place for nearly a quarter of a century, and I know from my own experience how hard it is to retire, to break one's ties with one's own collective, with people with whom a long path of labor has been trod. It is painful and difficult to accustom oneself to the new generation. But is it necessary? The more so, if one has the strength, experience and desire to transmit it to young people. True, age does make itself felt. I should therefore like to see more use being made of the partial work day at enterprises. It is convenient both to pensioners and to women with small children.

Over the past eight years, the number of pensioners working in our country has doubled. It is not material considerations which have played the primary role in this phenomenon, but such favorable factors as continued growth in the average lifespan, the development of Soviet public health and improved working conditions. In the decade ahead, people born in the 1920's, when the birthrate was highest in our country, will begin retiring. We must therefore expect a significant increase in the number of working pensioners and prepare in advance to make their labor commensurate with their strengths and desires. What will we need to do? Not all that much.

I want to offer as an example the experience in organizing the labor of production veterans at the Riga "Badge of Honor" Order Experimental Ship-Machine Plant. They are seriously concerned about their veterans, about keeping them on, at this enterprise. The personnel department here has always helped seek out for each pensioner work suited to his strengths and desires. A health center has been created at the plant for pensioners to see physicians. The dining hall is concerned about setting up a dietetic food service. Labor veterans are given material assistance in medical treatment and preferential rights to time of summer vacation.

The working pensioner is one of the signs of the social health of a society. It means the society has protected that person and provided him with a physical opportunity and a spiritual need to remain in the labor sphere, even when elderly. True, this is not always taken into account in the organizational forms of personnel work. Where, for example, do you see a declaration of job opportunities for pensioners? The list of jobs offered which can be done at home is extremely limited, but that form is especially attractive to women in well-deserved retirement. It cannot be denied that much has already been done to draw the elderly into the labor process. Much, but by no means everything. There are still quite a few unused reserves and opportunities, which must not be disregarded in the five-year plan ahead.

To be blunt, there are quite a few pensioners who want to work in the national economy, but the necessary conditions are not always created for them to do so. Some think pensioners don't need their help, so they needn't offer it.

I should especially like to stress the urgency of this problem for our republic. A decrease in our labor resources deficit is not anticipated, due to the low birth rate and certain other factors of a demographic nature. That means increased attention must be paid to pensioners able and wishing to continue working in the national economy. Incidentally, as I have already noted, a clear-cut resolution of this question is of great importance to the entire country as well. I therefore propose that the following provision be added to the above-cited point in Section 8 of the "Basic Directions of USSR Economic and Social Development in 1981-1985 and Through 1989": "Increase the responsibility of leaders of enterprises, organizations and institutions for creating the conditions necessary for the productive work of able-bodied pensioners." This will doubtless facilitate a proper resolution of an important question.

11052
CSO: 1800/271

MORE CONSUMER GOODS FROM LOCAL RESOURCES IN ESTONIA

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Dec 80 p 3

[Article by V. Klauson, Chairman of the Estonian SSR Council of Ministers: "From Local Resources"]

[Text] Consumer goods production increased significantly in Estonia during the 10th Five-Year Plan. As was anticipated by the resolutions of the 25th CPSU Congress, production of Group "B" output increased at outstripping rates. Indicators have been above the control figures for this year as well. Plans are being carried out in terms of assigned products list and assortment.

It is known that consumer goods use funded raw material, that is, raw material limited by the country's planning agencies. Moreover, they use local resources. How? A legitimate question, and one to which the CPSU Central Committee draft for the 26th Party Congress pays serious attention. In the next five-year plan, local industry must ensure approximately a 1.4-fold increase in output volume. This increase is to be achieved through the broader use of local raw and other material and production waste.

Quite a bit of work has been done in Estonia to produce consumer goods. Last year, 120 million rubles worth was manufactured. However, individual types of footwear, clothing, household, cultural and personal items are still for sale only intermittently.

What are the directions of our work? They include first of all reducing production waste. We are relying on progressive forms of raw and other materials expenditure. To do this, machine builders, for example, have introduced specialized metal use charts and light industry enterprises have introduced optimum, combined cutting of textiles and leathers.

Still, there is waste. Skillful use of such waste, foremost to produce consumer goods, is another direction in the intelligent expenditure of raw material resources. This year, we plan to increase such production 17 percent as compared with last year's level. We are trying to reprocess waste basically where it is generated. To do this, we are creating consumer goods shops. Twenty-one of the 23 enterprises of the Estonian Ministry of Light Industry are using waste to manufacture goods worth 6-7 million ruble per year.

Neither have we excluded the alternative of processing waste in a centralized manner. The main thing is that it be substantiated. For example, the republic Ministry of

Light, Pulp-Paper and Wood-Processing Industry has displayed good initiative by building the large Pyussiskiy Combine. It uses as raw material wood-processing production waste and low-grade wood pulp which were simply burned before.

There is always a lot of trouble with waste. A very great deal depends on the initiative and persistence of administrators. Thus, serious attention is paid in the republic to creating capacities to mine and processes mineral raw material, to renovating shops and enterprises producing output from local raw material and waste, to producing specialized equipment and tools, and so forth. The republic Gosplan is creating a sector to coordinate the efforts of Estonian ministries and departments and enterprises of Union subordination to increase the production of goods from local raw material and waste. Reserves are constantly being sought. Thus, the Estonian SSR Ministry of Local Industry and the republic consumers' cooperative recently set tauter assignments for this group of articles.

This ministry has made considerable efforts to seek out additional manpower reserves. Workers are in short supply in the republic. Employment here is 96 percent. That is why our ministries and departments have seriously taken up organizing production in the home. In the republic Ministry of Light Industry, 2.3 percent of its industrial-production personnel are home-workers. In the Estonian SSR Ministry of Local Industry system, they number nearly 4,000; two home-production associations have been created which include 2,500 people, primarily folk crafts producers. Last year, they produced output worth eight million rubles. Sad to say, dissemination of this good effort is being held up by the shortage of motor transport needed to deliver semi-finished products to homes and finished products to warehouses.

Everything being produced from waste is being sold. This is one other very important element in our work. Exhibit-inspections and contests to find new possibilities for using waste have become traditions. Models of new items are produced by enterprise artists and designers, are quickly "tested" in the artistic-technical councils of the republic ministries, and are introduced into production without delay.

But there are also problems. Our republic is not rich in those resources the USSR Gosplan categoriezes as local raw material to be used to manufacture consumer goods. And what is available -- shale, peat, limestone, clay, dolomite, sand, for example -- is mined and processed at heavy industry enterprises. So it happens that, without justification, the republic falls into the class of ill-favored in terms of use of local mineral raw material to produce consumer goods.

Further. Practically every large industrial enterprise in the country produces consumer goods along with its basic products list. But planning their production lacks the necessary order. Quite a few goods are produced, but a whole series of small items is constantly in short supply. Why? Industrial enterprises take on those consumer goods advantageous for them. Moreover, they quite simply do not know the market.

The existing planning procedures also brake the release of Group "B" output from waste. Take the fund-generating indicator of labor productivity. It is several times lower in consumer goods shops than in basic production. That means, the more the former are developed, the lower the average primary labor indicator for the enterprise as a whole. This directly and materially harms the collective. Growth in consumer goods production negatively affects another important indicator as well --

the proportion of output in the highest quality category, inasmuch as consumer goods, good as they might be, are often not subject to quality certification at all. The question of mechanizing waste processing also awaits resolution -- thus far, there is extremely little such equipment and technology.

The country has outlined steps to further develop consumer goods production using local resources. In my view, we need to improve the stimulation of existing consumer goods shops. The reference is to increasing their profitability, regulating wages in such shops, and granting enterprise leaders the right to approve, with the concurrence of trade organizations, appropriate documentation and retail prices for consumer goods.

The steps cited would permit the development of local initiative and increased production of consumer goods from local resources.

11052
CSO: 1800/271

COOPERATIVE HOUSING CONSTRUCTION PROBLEMS IN ESTONIA

Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 6 Jan 81 p 2

[Article by V. Tikki, department head in the Estonian SSR Ministry of Housing and Municipal Services: "In the Interests of New Residents"]

[Text] The housing cooperative is a progressive form of housing construction and an important link in solving this important problem. The draft "Basic Directions" anticipate "increasing the role of housing-construction cooperation in further improving the housing conditions of the population." In recent years, housing construction has tended to increase, and in fact, according to the preliminary draft plan for the 11th Five-Year Plan, we are faced with increasing capital investments in cooperative construction 10 percent.

Certain successes have been achieved in organizing cooperative housing construction in the republic. Beginning in 1963, we have built cooperative housing totalling 1.12 million square meters, including 764,000 m^2 in Tallinn.

During the first four years and nine months of the 10th Five-Year Plan, 345,000 m^2 of housing was put into operation in the republic. The average percentage of housing cooperative construction in all republic housing construction has been above the Union average. For example, in 1979, cooperative construction comprised 11 percent of all housing construction, while the Union average was 5.3 percent, and the figure was 21 percent in Tallinn.

In a word, the housing-construction cooperatives system will grow and be developed. It is all the more important that existing problems be solved. And there are serious problems. Plan assignments for starting up cooperative housing have systematically not been met in recent years, with the exception of Tallinn. The Pyarnu gorispolkom and the Tartuskiy, Kingiseppskiy and Valgaskiy rayispolkoms have not coped with the 1980 assignment.

This situation is basically a consequence of shortcomings in construction organization. In individual rayons of the republic, schedules for putting up cooperative housing have been carried over from year to year for various reasons, and such construction is often provided with manpower and materials after other projects. There are, unfortunately, quite a few examples. In Elva, cooperative housing construction has been included in the work plan for two years now, but the Elva Mechanized Column of the Estonian SSR Ministry of Construction has yet to begin it. The same is true with regard to construction of cooperative housing in Kingiseppe, Sillamyae and Valga.

Contractor organizations often permit poor construction quality in cooperative housing, releasing it with many defects and much unfinished work which requires a long time to correct. In Tartu, for example, the housing of "Papli" cooperative was released for occupancy with major incompletions. These facilities were accepted for use in 1979, but it will be 1981 before the Tartu House Building Combine can complete the unfinished work.

As the amount of cooperative housing grows, questions of operating it correctly and repairing it promptly take on increasing importance. However, they are not always resolved satisfactorily. The Ministry of Housing and Municipal Services has worked out an instruction on operating housing at housing-construction cooperatives. Cooperative housing must be serviced by the cooperatives themselves or on the basis of an agreement with housing-operation organizations. The creation of cooperative operation administrations, which were once discussed in SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA, is very promising in this area.

Tallinn alone now has 137 housing-construction cooperatives, consisting of 220 housing units in which about 40,000 people live. Such fragmentation makes it considerably harder to service cooperative housing in accord with the demands of the times. At the same time, a large cooperative operation administration permits the efficient solution of many problems of repairing and operating such housing. There is experience of this kind in the republic -- a recently created cooperative operation administration is operating in Lasnamyae. This experience should be actively introduced by the municipal services and local soviets of the republic.

In view of the importance of developing housing cooperation, I consider it useful to add the words "increase the responsibility of ministries, planning agencies, housing and municipal services enterprises and local soviets for the construction and operation of cooperative housing" to Section 8 of the Congress draft, which refers to improving housing conditions for the Soviet people.

11052
CSO: 1800/271

PUBLICATION OF WORKS OF GEORGIAN HISTORIAN DELAYED

Tbilisi KOMUNISTI in Georgian 11 Jan 81 p 3

[Article by Solomon Khutsishvili under rubric "Letters to KOMUNISTI": "How Long Must the Reader Wait?"]

[Text] On the 100th anniversary of the birth of Ivane Dzhavakhishvili it was decided to publish his work in 12 volumes. The public welcomed this timely decision and event, because up to now this great Georgian historian's works have not been published as a collection. (Publication which began in 1951 was halted at volume 5 in 1953; publication which was begun in 1960 was halted in 1967 at volume 4. In both cases, Simon Kaukhchishvili did valuable work.)

A solid, competent editorial board was created. And in 1977 a prospectus was printed outlining the contents of all 12 volumes and naming the editors and publishing houses. According to the prospectus, publication of the academician's works was to begin in 1977 and end in 1982. One volume was to appear in 1977 (volume 8, edited by M. Lortkipanidze), two volumes in 1978 (volume 1, edited by V. Gadashvili, and volume 12, edited by M. Dumbadze), two volumes in 1979 (volume 2, edited by V. Gabashvili, and volume 4, edited by P. Gugushvili and V. Chantladze), two volumes again in 1980 (volume 3, edited by M. Dumbadze, and volume 5, edited by P. Gugushvili and V. Chantladze), again two volumes in 1981 (volume 6, edited by I. Dolidze, volume 9, edited by E. Metreveli), and the remaining three volumes (volume 7, edited by I. Dolidze, volume 10, edited by A. Chikobava and K. Lomtatidze, and volume 11, edited by G. Chitaia and Gr. Chkhikvadze) in 1982, thus completing the first full publication of Ivane Dzhavakhishvili's History of Georgia. Our scholars, students, and anyone else interested in Georgia's history would receive the complete collected works of one of the greatest scholars, historians, and public figures of our time.

Well, a considerable portion of the planned time span has elapsed (1977-1980), and here it is 1981.

What is the situation so far? Volume 8, edited by M. Lortkipanidze, came out on schedule in 1977. Volume 1 was supposed to come out in 1978, but it didn't appear until 1979.

According to schedule, seven volumes were to have been published between 1977 and 1980, but only two have appeared. One volume edited by V. Gabashvili, two by M. Dumbadze, and two by P. Gugushvili and V. Chantladze have not been published.

Ivane Dzhavakhishvili's works were to be published by Tbilisi State University Publishing House and Georgian SSR Academy of Sciences Publishing House. Both volumes so far have been published by the university press. The academy's publishing house owes the reader three volumes (which according to the prospectus are already behind schedule, while the university's publishing house is two books behind.

Neither publishing house has informed anyone concerned of the reason for the delay.

Readers and users do have the prospectus, which is a kind of guarantee, and are waiting for the books to appear.

How long they will have to wait, no one is saying and, after all, it's now 1981.

Is this a case of "too many cooks"?

6854
CSO: 1813

VIL'YANDI SUCCESSES SHOW NEED FOR 'NEW FORM OF FARM ORGANIZATION'

Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 26 Dec 80 p 2

[Article by M. Tamm, chief of the laboratory of cooperation among agricultural enterprises of the Estonian Scientific Research Institute of Farming and Reclamation: "Time-Tested"]

> [Text["Systematically develop agricultural production centralization and concentration on a base of interfarm cooperation and agroindustrial integration" (from the draft "Basic Directions of USSR Economic and Social Development in 1981-1985 and Through 1989")

Five years ago, or to be more precise, on 16 December 1975, a constituent assembly of the Vil'yandi Experimental Agricultural Association was convened. Along with 15 kolkhozes, 10 sovkhozes and one state farm, the association contained an interkolkhoz construction organization, a grain-products combine, the Vil'yandinskiy Rayon Sel'khoztekhnika and Nuyaskaya Interrayon Sel'khoztekhnika associations, and local dairies and packing plants. Five years is a relatively short period in the development of such an association, but it is still enough to sum up certain results. In this regard, it is naturally especially interesting to find out how agricultural production has developed under the new conditions. Apropos of this, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said in his speech at the July (1978) CPSU Central Committee Plenum: "We need not just any associations, but ones which actually raise the socialist collectivization of production and labor to a new level, which are based on the latest achievements of science, engineering and technology, which ensure the highest productivity and provide a maximum of inexpensive output."

During the 10th Five-Year Plan, the Vil'yandi agricultural association increased its average annual gr[illegible]:tion 39 percent as compared with the preceding five-year plan, meat -- 35 pe[illegible] and milk -- 20 percent. Sales of agricultural products to the state increased correspondingly. In this regard, production in the rayon was done based on intensive methods. In 1979, some 967 quintals of milk and 238 quintals of meat was produced per 100 ha of land worked. The only rayons with higher indicators were Khar'yuskiy -- both types of output (1,022 and 275), Paydevskiy -- milk (1,018) and Rakvereskiy -- meat (259).

On the whole, these data permit the conclusion that the five years of operation of the experimental association concluded with positive results.

Both people within our country and those in many fraternal countries abroad are interested in the operation of the association. This obligates us not only to

propagandize the association's activity, but also to analyze the trends in its development, reveal unsolved problems, and outline the directions in which the experiment will be broadened. In this regard, it is already possible to rely on the work experience of the Pyarnuskiy Rayon Agroindustrial Association.

One feature at the latter association is that it consists of a broad range of enterprises. Along with kolkhozes, sovkhozes and procurement organizations, it includes practically all enterprises capable of directly or indirectly influencing improvement in agricultural production efficiency, including a consumers' cooperative, a timber management enterprise, a peat enterprise and a fishery. And the association is not called an agricultural association, as at Vil'yandi, but an agroindustrial association. Thus, the very name emphasizes the idea of integrating agriculture and the branches servicing it.

The Vil'yandi experiment is aimed essentially at further developing the positive experience of the rayon agriculture administrations, at gradually shaping the association as a unified administrative organization. Much work has been done, in particular, to develop interfarm cooperation. The cattle feed lot on "Karksi" kolkhoz, the fertilizers warehouse on "Ab'ya" sovkhoz, the post-harvest grain seed processing shop on "Tarvasti" kolkhoz, the reproducer hog farm on sovkhoz imeni Yu. Gagarin, the mixed-feed preparation shop and a number of cultural and personal-services buildings -- that is a list of the basic interfarm facilities either already in operation or in the final stages of construction.

The association's advantages in developing interfarm cooperation consist in the fact that the cooperation is done on a unified planning basis and with the support of the association as a whole. Thus, during the five-year period, a total of 4.5 million rubles, including 515,000 rubles in revenue redistribution, was spent from centralized funds of the Vil'yandi agricultural association. In this regard, the redistribution was done in the form of irrevocable allocations of specific sums to the economic incentives funds of weak farms in order to equalize the social development of association labor collectives and carry out the principle of equal pay for equal work.

Everything taken together has led to gratifying changes in the economic and social life of the village, and I am confident that what is positive in the rayon now in connection with the formation of the association will subsequently stand out in greater relief.

But let's touch on several problems still unsolved and requiring thoughtful study and a cautious approach.

As a cost-accounting organization, the association must cover its management expenses through its own means. In the Vil'yandi agricultural association, the sums for these purposes are created from kolkhoz and sovkhoz contributions, which leads to nearly a 0.1 percent increase in the net cost of their output. It would be more correct, in my view, for all association members, and not just the kolkhozes and sovkhozes, to participate in covering administrative expenses. This is how it's done in the Pyarnu agroindustrial association, incidentally.

The association has a board management organ, the association council, which consists of farm and enterprise leaders. Creation of the association council signifies an intensification of the democratic principle of management and facilitates improving

business contacts between the leaders of farms and enterprises serving agriculture. However, the coordinating role of the council has been little felt thus far, and the economic levers through which the council influences the course of affairs in the association should be strengthened. This concerns first of all the formation of centralized funds and the right of enterprise members of the association to redistribute profit.

Enterprise member activity is thus far weakly linked to the basic tasks of the association. Cooperation is being improved, of course, but it will be appropriate in the future to interweave interests more closely by producing unified plan assignments based on the goals set the association, to have participation in the formation of centralized funds not only from above-plan profit, as is done in the Vil'yandi association, but also on a planned basis.

But the most complex problem, as is to be expected, is the set of questions concerning the status of the association itself. Take the procedure for forming centralized funds (I'm repeating myself, but what can I do: it's the most painful area!). The CPSU Central Committee Decree "On Further Developing Agricultural Production Specialization and Concentration on a Base of Interfarm Cooperation and Agroindustrial Integration" points out that every type of association must follow the principle of voluntary cooperation, preserving the economic independence and material interest of the enterprises which are cooperating in it. On the other hand, the Statute on the Production Association in Agriculture and other documents specifically regulating the creation of associations anticipate the formation of centralized funds through deductions from the economic incentives funds of enterprises in the cooperation. That is, an enterprise in an association loses a portion of its economic independence, inasmuch as it does not have complete discretion concerning its own funds. Economically strong farms are unwilling to lose the right to some of their property: they are doomed only to give, not receive, in the redistribution process within the association framework. At least initially.

However, creation of the association is a progressive step, one economically advantageous both to the state and in the end to all the enterprises comprising it. We therefore need to seek out and find more improved relations in the chain of state - association - enterprise - worker.

If we call an ordinary rayon agriculture administration an association, we only change the sign, not the substance. A new form of economic organization needs broader rights. I repeat: the association council must have the right to redistribute enterprise profits on a broader scale than is being done now.

Much also needs to be changed in planning for association member enterprises. This concerns foremost enterprises servicing agricultural production, processing agricultural output, and it is associated with their dual subordination along branch lines and along cooperative lines. Here, we have not completely followed the principle that you answer to your superior organization for the results of your financial-economic activity but to the association for indicators of plan fulfillment for services, completion dates and quality of work done for the association and its enterprises.

As of now, these have been the main results of the experiment. Its experience is being generalized and our institute has worked out fundamental documents which take into account what we already know about creating associations in rural areas. It remains to hope that the specialization and concentration of agricultural production will be speeded up in the republic, that the cooperation between science and practice will bring an increasing return with each passing year.

11052
CSO: 1800/277

FAR NORTH HOUSING SHOULD CONFORM TO NATIVE TRIBAL CUSTOMS

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Jan 81 p 2

/Article by I. Titov, PRAVDA correspondent, Petropavlovsk-Kamchatskiy: "By the Family Hearth: What Kind of Housing Should There Be for the Residents of the North?"

/Text/ On Chukotka and in many regions of Kamchatka large villages and settlements of a city size are being rapidly created and developed. The houses here have all conveniences. In architecture, layout and subsidiary facilities they differ little from those that are being built in other regions of Siberia, the Far East, the Urals and even the center of the Soviet Union.

But this is what is curious. In the settlements of the Taymyr and Chukotka and the north of Kamchatka Oblast one can frequently see this picture: next to a log house stands a chum or yaranga. I ask the owners if they are crowded or if they have a big family. They reply: "No. There is room for everyone. But it is a custom. We want to sit in front of the hearth. It is warm and comfortable." The elderly in particular find it difficult to adjust to what is not usual to them, as they feel, city housing.

So this is the problem! The house is good and has considerably more conveniences. But it was built without taking into consideration the national traditions, customs and housing needs of the family.

What can be done? Must they return to the yaranga? No, this is unthinkable. After all, besides the merits, the yaranga has quite a few shortcomings. Such as poor ventilation, smokiness and uneven heating. People rarely remove their outer fur clothing, which promotes the spread of diseases. On the other hand, we cannot abandon traditions without considering the demands of the northerners in designing and constructing housing. It is this time requirement that has been reflected in the joint document of the USSR State Committee for Construction Affairs and the ministries of agriculture and rural construction and the USSR Union of Architects, which is devoted to the problems of developing the way of life of the peoples of the North.

What do we have available at this time? Here are the first signs. A report has been released that the Kamchatskgrazhdanproyekt /Kamchatka Civil Engineering and Planning/ Institute has designed an original house, in which are reflected modern construction tendencies and ancient traditions of the basic peoples of the North. Many newspapers in Chukotka and Kamchatka carried stories about them.

I called M. Potipako, the chief architect on the design, who said: "Yes, that was the general idea. In conjunction with architects V. Tratsevskiy and N. Filin, we proposed a draft plan of a single-storey house with five rooms. But it is still too early to talk about executing the idea, since there is no organization to follow through on it. By the way, feel free to take a look at all of the materials in the institute."

In front of me were blueprints, drawings and draft designs. The concept was truly original. The design authors had carefully studied the ethnographic features and family structure of the northern residents, as well as their national traditions in construction of houses in the severe climatic conditions. They received much valuable advice from the reindeer herders, hunters and fishermen. Of particular use was their cooperation with the ethnographer and candidate for the degree of doctor of historical sciences, V. Malyukovich, and the scientific worker of the Mil'kovskiy museum of local lore, history and economy, M. Ygrin.

What does the new house look like? It is octagonal. In the center is a large family room, in the center of which is the stone hearth. Not only does it meet the needs of the northerners, but esthetically it is quite similar to the interior of the yaranga. Off from the family room are the bedrooms for the children and parents. The entrance way has a shelf for drying clothing and the kitchen has a pantry. Provision has been made for additional space where, without bothering anyone, one can do household work, prepare equipment for work, process furs, and so forth.

All rooms have the usual windows, but the family room has ceiling skylights. Local heating is used. The house can be assembled from plant-produced units.

When developing the general plan for the layout of the administrative center of the Koryak autonomous okrug, the settlement of Palan, it was proposed that a special area be set aside on the shore of the river for a small "cluster" of such houses. The okrug leadership and local residents were well satisfied with this concept.

But things never got beyond this point. Following the estatic initial response there was a lull. Someone had to have the courage to order the working design for the house. They were intimidated by the newness and the need to develop the technology for manufacturing the structures and installing them in place. Those who had to decide these matters, reasoned something like this: "We are talking about an experiment. It will probably cost a lot. Why should we take such a burden

on ourselves. Wouldn't it be easier to build our usual houses? It is a matter of custom, the estimate is known, it is less bother. And if the housing does not completely satisfy some people, then they won't be angry with us. We did everything in accordance with the plan."

Perhaps, the proposed house is in fact too fanciful, with some excesses and unneeded atributes? Here is the opinion of the chairman of the architecture department of the Kamchatka Oblast Executive Committee, V. Sheshmintsev: "We know that skilled specialists worked on the house design. They took into consideration the climatic characteristics of the region, the national traditions in building housing, the household and esthetic requirements of the northerners. It is a very interesting concept. But only experience can demonstrate the extent to which it will meet the needs of these people. This means that it is necessary to build several experimental houses. We are prepared to carry out such a job."

It is not just the Kamchatka designers that are working on the problem of combining modern conveniences of a house with the national traditions of the northern peoples. Their own somewhat different solutions have been proposed by the architects of the Magadan Branch of the Krasnoyarskgiprosovkhozstroy /Krasnoyarsk State Planning and Design Institute for the Construction of Sovkhozes/ Institute, S. Beskrovnaya and V. Lushchinskiy. They have prepared several variations of houses in one- and two-storey designs with a different layout of apartments. But what they have in common with the Kamchatka designers, is that their designs also take into consideration the way of life of the reindeer herders, hunters and fishermen. The houses include provisions for additional rooms, shops and pantries in addition to living space.

The Magadan designers were more fortunate; they have already received orders for working designs. In the near future work will begin on the first experimental houses in Chukotka in the town of Lorin and in Novochaplin nad Uelen. The oblast production administration of agriculture was the customer.

This matter is well thought out and important and is of great social significance. It fully responds to the spirit of the draft of the Basic trends for the development of the USSR of the CPSU Central Committee, which calls for the further improvement of the living and day-to-day conditions of the rural population. This matter must be advanced on a more active basis. Presently small groups of enthusiasts are engaged on an independent basis in developing plans. Their efforts are disconnected, which leads to unavoidable duplication in solving the same problems.

In talks the specialists express the opinion that the creation of a house for the northerner will be put on a serious state basis, if the USSR State Committee for Construction Affairs and the USSR ministries of agriculture and of rural construction and the USSR Union of Architects show any interest in it. The reindeer herders, hunters and

fishermen of Kamchatka, Chukotka and regions of the Far North - these tireless workers who through their difficult labor enrich the Soviet Union - must receive comfortable and warm houses, which combine the comfort of the late twentieth century and the ancient national traditions of these peoples of the Soviet Union, who enjoy equal rights with all other peoples of the USSR.

8927
CSO: 1800

REGIONAL

LOCAL AUTHORITIES OBSTRUCT WORKERS' LETTERS TO NEWSPAPERS

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Jan 81 p 2

/Article by O. Gadaborshev and A. Kubarev, special PRAVDA correspondents, Cheropovets, Vologda Oblast: "Without a Response"/

/Text/ "They forbid me to write to the newspaper. I have given 20 years to my enterprise, having grown up here, and suddenly I am not allowed to write about the plant and its people and about the things that are of concern to me and my comrades." The brigadeer of the electricians at the Cherepovets metallurgical plant, Yu. Fedotovskiy, has appealed to the editors with such a letter. In this day and age such a letter looks strange.

From the pages of the city newspaper KOMMUNIST Yu. Fedotovskiy told of the shortcomings, which, in his opinion, prevents work from being done as it should on the 250-1 mill of the section rolling shop. In publishing the correspondence of their long-standing author, the editors of KOMMUNIST hoped that it would help the matter. For this reason the journalists were happy when they learned of plans to discuss the article in the brigades.

But when they checked they found that the meeting organizers had something else in mind. The discussion was not so much about the questions that were raised, but about the author of the letter. The tone was set by the mill chief V. Utkin, senior foreman A. Molotkov and acting shift foreman V. Shebunin. The gray-haired veteran was advised "to write about love instead of the technology that he does not understand." They told him that "he acted badly" because "he cast a big shadow on a good collective."

At the end of each meeting senior foreman A. Molotkov invariably exclaimed: "I propose deciding to forbid Fedotovskiy to be published in the newspaper without consulting with us!"

Please note that A. Molotkov is not opposed to the worker writing to the newspaper, he only requires that he coordinate his articles with management. This is nothing new, but is very popular with those who wish to avoid criticism.

One need not look too long to find examples. In the same city of Cherepovets lives GAI /State Automotive Inspectorate/ inspector R. Katyashichev. A police sergeant, and also a press activist, Katyashichev has been contributing to the city newspaper for nearly 20 years. And recently during the political information hour (!) the sergeant was roused from his seat and in front of the personnel of the city department of internal affairs lectured for his correspondence entitled "Permissiveness". What did they have against this correspondence? The article told of how some police workers guard brawlers from punishment.

We spoke with the chief of the city administration of internal affairs, V. Ignatkin. We asked why Katyashichev was accused of "discrediting the police" and "disgracing the insignia of a policeman?" Were there any complaints against the sergeant's duty? Ignatkin answered that there were no complaints "but he writes to the newspaper without coordinating with management."

However, let us return to Yu. Fedotovskiy's letter. One would expect that what happened would have alarmed the plant Party committee. It would have been easy to rectify the error: it should have given a Party evaluation to the event and published it. But no steps were taken.

To the honor of the newspaper editors, they defended the worker correspondent and on principle outlined the erroneous position of the shop managers. The press clipping was sent to the secretary of the plant Party committee, G. Karpov, who thought it unnecessary to report about the steps that were taken. Three times the editors reminded him of the need to respond to the article, but to no avail. By the way, several other metallurgical plant managers "did not notice" several articles in KOMMUNIST. The negative attitude toward criticism in the press is also seen in the fact that A. Piralov, a newspaper contributor, managed to attend these meetings only after the intercession of the City Party Committee: they would not let him into the shop. "We thought", explained G. Karpov, "that discussion of the article was our internal affair. A journalist could interfere with normal conversation."

They learned about what had happened at the metallurgical plant in the City Party Committee. When we told the first secretary of the City Party Committee, N. Bobrov, about this he sighed: "I issued instructions to fully investigate this matter, but then I forgot to check."

In the May issue of the magazine RABOCHE-KREST'YANSKIY KORRESPONDENT /The Worker-Farmer Correspondent/ there was an article about the ineffectiveness of the newspaper articles in KOMMUNIST on construction topics. The editors presented the City Party Committee with a note on this matter. And what were the consequences? In the City Party Committee they tried to "reconcile" the managers of Cherepovetsmetallurgkhimstroy /Cherepovets Trust for the Construction of Enterprises for the Metallurgical and Chemical Industries/ with local journalists. And

why "reconcile", if it was necessary to require economic managers to respond on a timely basis and in a business-like manner to press articles?

As regards the publication of the magazine, N. Bobrov reported that the association management "was pointed out for its incorrect reaction to criticism expressed in the newspaper KOMMUNIST. The response was not specific and the editors of RABOCHE-KREST'YANSKIY KORRESPONDENT informed the Vologda Oblast Party Committee about it. This organization wrote: "The Cherepovets City Party Committee will report to you on the measures that were taken." But there has been no report as yet.

In the decree of the CPSU Central Committee "concerning the guidance of the Tomsk Oblast Party Committe over the means of mass information and propaganda", Party committees are advised "to do everything possible to raise the role of the press in developing criticism and self-criticism and to fully support press articles based on a matter of principle." It is hard to understand why the Cherepovets City Party Committee is not supporting the articles of its press organ as it should.

8927
CSO: 1800

END

END OF FICHE DATE FILMED

10 April 1980